
Apophaticism in the Theology of the Eastern Church: The Modern Critical Function of a Traditional Theory*

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Apophaticism As *Theologia Superlativa*

Theology as discourse about God perceives its task in a two-fold way: positively and negatively. It says what God is and what He is not. The former is called affirmative or positive theology (*theologia affirmativa*) and the latter, denying or negative theology (*theologia negativa*). Positive theology operates with definitions and determinations: God is the Good, Being, Wise, etc., while negative theology works with negations: those predicates of God are appropriate from which there emerges not what God is, but what He is not. If these two kinds of theology are compared with the fine arts, then the positive corresponds to painting and the negative to sculpture. In the first instance a sketch is made and colors are added to it, in order to establish a two-dimensional portrait, while in the second instance fragments are hewn from the raw materials and in this way a three-dimensional picture is made to appear. Dionysios the Areopagite maintains: "We must proceed like the sculptor who removes all hindrances which conceal the divine purity of what is hidden and only by removing, to allow the

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hidden beauty to shine of itself.”¹ The Fourth Lateran Council (1215) officially formulated and determined the concept of negative theology in the Western Church as follows: “Between Creator and creature no similarity can be affirmed, without affirming a still greater dissimilarity between them.”² In the formulation by Thomas Aquinas: “de Deo scire non possumus quid sit, sed quid non sit” (*Quaestiones disputatae* 7, 5, 14) negative theology entered into the traditional Roman Catholic handbooks.³

The negative theology of the Western Church and the apophatic theology of the Eastern Church should, however, be clearly distinguished. Apophatic theology does not mean a definition of God, either positively or negatively. To speak apophatically of God means to transcend all attributes of God, whether positive or negative. The appropriate name for the apophaticism of the Eastern Church is not *theologia negativa* (denying theology), but *theologia superlativa* (transcending theology). Dionysios claimed: “of him one can neither attribute nor deny something; rather, in attributing or denying something of him, we neither affirm nor deny; because the perfect and unique ground of everything is beyond every claim, and because the eminent ground—utterly detached from everything and beyond the totality—stands beyond every denial.”⁴ Apophatic theology can never be identified with denying (negative) theology. Whereas negative theology is confined to denial, negation is only one factor of apophatic

¹ Dionysios Areopagites, *Mystical theology*, 2 PG 3 1025 (German transl., H. Theill-Wunder, *Die archaische Verborgenheit* [Munich: Fink], 1970, 163)]

² “quia inter creatorem et creaturam non potest similitudo notari, quoniam inter eos maior sit dissimilitudo notanda” H. Denzinger, *Enchiridion Symbolorum* (Freiburg: Herder, 1957 [31st ed.], 432 D 806) [German transl.] J. Hochstaffl, *Negative Theologie* (Munich: Kosel, 1976) 154), Cf. C. Yannaras, “Person und Eros” (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck/Ruprecht, 1982), 205f; H. Vorgrimmler, “Negative Theologie,” *LThK* 7 (1967) 864

³ On the Roman Catholic understanding of negative theology, cf. J. Hochstaffl, 154f., H. Vorgrimmler, cols. 864f., and A. Gouhier, “Néant,” in *DSP* 11 (1981), cols. 64-80. Evangelical theology is only marginally interested in negative theology. Except for E. Jungel, *Gott als Geheimnis der Welt* (Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1978), esp. 316-357, and *Zur Freiheit eines Christenmenschen* (Munich: Kaiser, 1978), 28-53, one finds no specific article on “Negative Theology” in evangelical lexica. On negative theology in Augustine, Scotus Erugena, Meister Eckhart and Nicholas of Cusa, cf. W. Weischedel, “Der Gott der Philosophen,” Vol. 1 (Munich, DTV, 1979 [1971])

⁴ Dionysios Areopagites, *De mystica theologia*, 5 PG 3, 1048B (German transl., Theill-Wunder, 153). Cf. Maximus the Confessor, *Schol. in De div. nom.* PG 4 245C. Cf. also C. Yannaras, *De l'absence et de l'inconnaissance de Dieu* (Paris: Cerf, 1971), 887. “Apophaticism is thus defined as a simultaneous synthesis of affirmations and negations, it is apparent that the apophatic attitude is not to be identified with the theology of negations” *Idem*, “Dogma und Verkündigung im orthodoxen Verständnis,” *Ostkirchliche Studien* 21 (1972)

theology: it can therefore be designated as *theologia superlativa*. It is for this reason that apophatic theologians prefer the prefix ὑπέρ – “beyond.”⁵ The fundamental notion of the apophaticism of the Eastern Church is this: truth does not exhaust itself in its formulation. God can be defined negatively and accordingly delimited. Whereas negative theology attempts to define God by denials, apophatic theology renounces every definition of God. A basic characteristic of the apophaticism of the Eastern Church is radical renunciation of every definition of God, whether positive or negative. The difference between apophatic and negative theology designates a difference between the Eastern and the Western Church: in this respect the apophatic theology of the Eastern Church transcends the Western negative and natural theology.⁶

The apophaticism of the Eastern Church does not only stand at the cross-roads between the Western and Eastern Churches, but designates an important difference between Hellenism and Christianity. Apophaticism is a mark of ancient Greek philosophy with which the apophaticism of the Eastern Church can in no way be identified. “In the development of apophatic theology the Platonic-Origenistic understanding of truth again emerges, only to be sublated at its core along with its epistemological and ontological claims.”⁷ Apophatic theology rejected the Greek view of truth. A further task of the present study is to set forth the difference between ancient Greek and Christian apophatic theology. Apophaticism and Mysticism belong inseparably together. The word “Mystik” is an abbreviation of the Greek formula, “Mystical Theology,” which forms the title of a writing of Pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite⁸ “Mystical Theology” is the basis of apophaticism. This historical accident is a clear indication of the close connection of mystical with apophatic theology. Without “Mystik” apophaticism remains mere *Schwärmerei* or word-play. On the contrary,

132-140, esp 133; K. Ware, “Dieu caché et révélée,” *Messenger de l'Exarchat du Patriarche Russe en Europe Occidentale* 23 (1975) 89/90, esp. 48 (“The voice of negation is in reality a voice of super-affirmation”), and J. Zizioulas, “Wahrheit und Gemeinschaft,” *Kerygma und Dogma* 28 (1980) 2-49, esp 22 (Note 72). (“The equation of 22 ‘apophatic’ and ‘negative’ can lead to a misunderstanding . . . That is a theology that transcends the schema of ‘positive vs negative,’ or ‘knowledge vs ignorance’”).

⁵J. Zizioulas, 20 Cf. G. Florovsky, “Pseudo-Dionysios, Works,” *Encyclopedia for Religion and Ethics* (Greek), 12 (1968) esp. 476.

⁶C. Yannaras, *De l'absence*, p 79-80; idem, *Person und Eros*, 205f

⁷J. Zizioulas, 20.

⁸On the etymology of “Mystik” cf. F. Heiler, *Das Gebet* (Munich. Reinhardt, 1969) [Reproduced from the 5th edition of 1923], 249.

without apophaticism "Mystik" denies its content and lapses into mysticism, for the mystical experience can never be exhausted in its forms of expression. In this way mystical and apophatic theology became almost synonymous.

The close connection of "Mystik" with apophaticism needs a further explanation, because apophaticism does not mean a degeneration into mysticism; rather, it is closely connected with "Mystik." Hans Kung correctly remarked that mysticism is an extremely vague term. In popular language, 'mysticism' is often equated with puzzling, strange, mysterious, or just plain religious.⁹ In this study we agree with Kung's definition of the word "Mystik": "Mystical experience can be generally defined as *immediate-intuitive experience* of unity, as an intuition of a great unity that abolishes the subject-object division."¹⁰ In the following the term "Mystik" will only be used in this sense, and only the theology of the Eastern Church with its apophaticism will be designated as mystical theology. In this way the following thesis of Lossky's is to be understood: "The eastern tradition has never made a sharp distinction between mysticism and theology; between personal experience of the divine mysteries and the dogma affirmed by the Church."¹¹ The boundary between the "Mystik" of the Eastern Church and religious mysticism is the Church: "Outside the truth kept by the whole Church personal experience would be deprived of all certainty, of all objectivity. It would be a mingling of truth and falsehood, of reality and of illusion: 'mysticism' in the bad sense of the word."¹²

The experience of unity is the common denominator of the mystical and apophatic theology of the Eastern Church. Mysticism in the Eastern Church does not mean a flight from the world into the soul of the solitary individual; rather it implies an openness to the world, to others and to God.

⁹Hans Kung (together with J von Ess et al), *Christianity and the World Religions Paths of Dialogue with Islam, Hinduism and Buddhism* (Garden City, NY Doubleday & Company, 1986), 169 On the diversity of definitions of "Mystik", cf WR Inge, *Christian Mysticism* (London Methuen, 1933 (7th ed) (orig 1899), 335-348 (App A "Definitions of 'Mysticism' and 'Mystical Theology'"), WR Inge very appropriately remarked (p 115) "Asiatic mysticism is the natural refuge of men who have lost faith in civilization, but who will not give up faith in God"

¹⁰Ibid

¹¹V Lossky, *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church* (Cambridge James Clarke & Co , Ltd , 1957), 8 On Mystik and dogma in the Eastern Church, cf F Heiler, *Die Ostkirchen* (Munich Reinhardt, 1971), 429f

¹²V Lossky, 13 Cf P Evdokimov, *L'Orthodoxie* (Neuchâtel. Delachaux/Niestlé, 1965) 107f , 113

Experience of unity and openness to the world presuppose one another. Because reality is understood as openness and as unity, a final and closed conceptual definition of this reality is forfeited and for this reason this truth is only spoken of apophatically. Because reality is one and open, the truth can never be defined in closed conceptual formulations—whether positively or negatively. Hence all genuine mystical theology becomes apophatic theology and the apophaticism of the Eastern Church presupposes orthodox “Mystik.”

In the present study the apophaticism of Eastern Church will be discussed from three standpoints, namely,

1. the emergence of the apophaticism of the Eastern Church will be considered in its theological-historical development,
2. the nature of the apophaticism of the Eastern Church will be investigated, namely, its theological-systematic function, and,
3. the relevance of the apophaticism of the Eastern Church, i.e. its present actuality and significance, will be discussed.

The Emergence of Apophaticism

Beginnings within and outside patristic sources.

Apophaticism is as old as theology itself and as widespread as mysticism itself.¹³ We have already spoken of the close connection between apophaticism and “Mystik.” The inner connection of apophaticism with theology in the sphere of European culture can be found in Plato. “Plato was the first who used the word ‘theology’ (θεολογία), and he evidently was the creator of the notion.”¹⁴ And it is true to say that Plato is the “progenitor of apophatic theology.”¹⁵ For the first time in Europe Plato postulated the apophatic way of knowledge. But the very first conceptual initiatives which co-determined the later conception of apophatic theology are to be traced to the Pre-Socratics, and especially to Heraklitos and Xenophanes. Fragment 93 of Heraklitos, “The lord who inhabits the Delphic oracle neither speaks nor keeps silent, but gives signs”¹⁶ stands as a clear sign of

¹³V Lossky, *À l'image et à la ressemblance de Dieu* (Paris Aubier, 1967), 12 Cf M Lot-Borodine, *La déification de l'homme selon la doctrine des Pères grecs* (Paris Cerf, 1970), 22.

¹⁴Werner Jaeger, *The Theology of the Early Greek Philosophers* The Gifford Lectures 1936 (Oxford At the Clarendon Press, 1947), p 4 (cited from Weischedel, 14 [who used the German edition of 1953, p 9 --Tr)

¹⁵S Kynazopoulos, *Prolegomena to the God Question* (Greek) (Athens, 1960), 18

¹⁶W Nestle, *Die Vorsokratiker* (Wiesbaden VMA-Verlag, 1978), 106

early Greek apophaticism in the sense that both positive as well as negative definitions are avoided. In reference to Xenophanes, J. Hochstaffl writes the following: "Xenophanes' critique of religion points accordingly to the Greek philosophical origin of the concept of negative theology."¹⁷ The well-known classical passage of Plato is to be found in *Timaeus* 28C and reads: "Now to discover the Maker and Father of this Universe were a task indeed, and having discovered Him, to declare Him to all men were a thing impossible."¹⁸ Recent research has also found traces of apophaticism in Aristotle.¹⁹ Neo-Platonism, and especially Plotinus, seized upon apophatic theology in a new way: "The concept of a negative theology was nevertheless conceived for the first time in Middle and Neo-Platonism."²⁰ W. Weischedel states: "Here (in Platonism) is rooted what later as negative theology became one of the essential traits of the entire further history of philosophical theology."²¹ According to Plotinus we can only say of the One what it is not; what it is we cannot say; it has no name; it is "ineffable" ἄρρητος (*Enneads*, 5, 3, 13f.) and there is neither knowledge nor thought of it (*Enneads* V, 3, 14). Also in Gnosticism God is the inaccessible and unknowable. Valentinus even called him the "Primal Father," the "Primal Beginning" and the "Deep," "inconceivable" and "invisible."²² Stated succinctly: "the doctrine of God of the Gnostics is principally *theologia negativa*."²³

The Platonizing Jew, Philo, represents a critical junction in the history of apophaticism, because he attempted to combine two different apophatic traditions: the Greek philosophical and that of the Old Testament. Old Testament apophaticism consists of these four elements:²⁴ the injunction against strange gods (Ex 20:3; Deut 5:7); the injunction against images Ex 20:4f.; Deut 5:8f.); the injunction against the misuses of the Divine Name (Ex 20:7; Deut 5:11), and the injunction concerning the Sabbath (Ex 20:8-11).

¹⁷J. Hochstaffl, 26

¹⁸Plato, *Timaeus* 28C [English follows Loeb Classical Library edition, Plato Vol VII, 51], cf. *Nomoi* 21A. S.J. Hochstaffl, 28ff., H. Theill-Wunder, 28ff. 23

¹⁹J. Hochstaffl, 31ff., H. Theill-Wunder, 64ff. Cf. C. Guerard, "La théologie négative dans l'apophaticisme grec," *RSPTh* 68 (1984), 183-200 and H. A. Wolfson, "The Knowability and Describability of God in Plato and Aristotle," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 56:157 (1947), 233-249

²⁰J. Hochstaffl, 65. Cf. Theill-Wunder, 82ff

²¹W. Weischedel 65

²²Examples in Hochstaffl, 49-65 and Weischedel, 76-82

²³Weischedel, p. 78

²⁴J. Hochstaffl, 16-24

The basic principle of Old Testament apophaticism is this: "the God of salvation history is at the same time absolutely unavailable."²⁵ Old Testament apophaticism signifies a critical denial of the service of gods for the sake of exclusive affirmation of Jahweh. Philo's undertaking was very serious, but seems to be ambivalent in its results. Two opposite judgments about Philo may be summoned to illustrate this. On the one side H.A. Wolfson makes a positive judgment and remarks: "The terms ineffable (ἄρρητος), unnamable (ἄκατανόμαστος), and incomprehensible (ἄκατάληπτος), by which the unknowability of God is expressed by Philo, do not occur as a description of God in extant Greek philosophic literature before Philo."²⁶ On the other side J. Hochstaffl is hesitating and remarks: "He (Philo) was finally unable to know any difference between the epistemological-metaphysical principles of the Greeks and the *heilsgeschichtlich* God of the Jews."²⁷

In the New Testament there are two characteristics of apophaticism, namely, the eschatological and the critical.²⁸ Three elements here can be lifted up: the remembrance of the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ as the basic element, the critical denial of every purely intrahistorical finding of salvation as the critical element, and the eschatological affirmation of salvation by God in Christ as the element of affirmation. The Areopagos speech (Acts 17) contains a very important passage. "The merit of the Areopagos speech—if one may speak thus—is the programmatic attempt, by means of different concepts of negative theology, to enter into conversation with non-Christians."²⁹ In the early period of the Church and especially in the Apologists, apophaticism was brought in to ground the criticism of non-Christians and heretics, and "in the apologetic argumentation negative theology played a critical religious role."³⁰ The inconceivability of God was already mentioned by Clement of Rome (1 Clem. 33,3); for Athenagoras God is "ungraspable and inconceivable" (PG 6 908B); and according to Theophilus of Antioch the form of God is "ineffable and inexpressible, not visible to eyes of flesh" (PG 6 102BC).³¹ Clement of

²⁵Hochstaffl, 22

²⁶H.A. Wolfson, *Religious Philosophy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1961) 6

²⁷J. Hochstaffl, 33

²⁸Ibid., 35-49.

²⁹Ibid., 49.

³⁰Ibid., 34. Cf. M. Lot-Borodine, 26ff. and L. Thunberg, *Microcosm and Mediator: The Theological Anthropology of Maximos the Confessor* (Lund: Gleerup, 1965), 432ff.

³¹Examples in G. Galits, "Apophatismus als Prinzip der Schriftauslegung bei den griechischen Kirchenvätern," *EvTh* 40 (1980) 25-40, esp. 28f.

Alexandria played a special role: "Clement's doctrine of God is therefore fundamentally a negative theology and this is expressly stated: 'We do not know what he is, but what he is not' (*Stromateis* 5; 71, 3)."³² Here we have the first clear presentation of early patristic apophaticism. In the words of Lot-Borodine: "(Clement) constituted the principle of apophaticism itself."³³ Origen is also an adherent of apophaticism: "God is inconceivable and unperceivable" (*De principiis* 1, 1, 5): "no words or designations can represent the attributes of God" (*Contra Celsum* 6,65) and God is completely "beyond spirit and Being" (*Contra Celsum* 7,38).³⁴ For Philo the Jew and Origen the Christian the problems of apophaticism are posed for the whole of subsequent theology. Two completely different apophatic traditions, the ancient Greek and the Old Testament, with their central figures (Plato and Moses) had to be put in order. For Plato apophaticism had a cosmological-natural basis, whereas for Moses it was based on eschatology. The injunction against images is the boundary between the two apophatic traditions mentioned above. In the Greek tradition such an injunction is lacking and therefore there is no criterion for distinguishing between theology and idolatry. God merges with the gods. The function of apophaticism is understood quite differently: for the Greeks it was a metaphysical matter, whereas for the biblical tradition it had an extremely critical function. The philosophers understood apophaticism as an epistemological postulate, whereas the theologians saw it as a necessary criterion of truth. In the early patristic era the apophatic problematic of theology was clearly posed, but not solved. The crucial question was: Hellenism or Christianity? Was Christianity Hellenized, or was Hellenism Christianized? Apophaticism stood at the crossroads of Christianity and Hellenism.³⁵ The apparent continuity between ancient Greek and Eastern Christian apophaticism should not obscure their basic discontinuity.

Patristic foundation

If the early Church posed the theological question of apophaticism, Byzantine patristics solved it. Ancient Greek apophaticism was adopted and simultaneously overcome. It dealt with the Christianizing of Greek

³²W Weischedel, 85

³³M Lot-Borodine, 26f

³⁴Examples and translation in W Weischedel, 89ff See also the contrary thesis of V Lossky, *Mystical Theology*, 32f

³⁵J Zizioulas, 21

apophaticism and not with a Hellenizing of biblical apophatic theology. The injunction against images remains operative in the Church Fathers, and Moses (not Plato) is the progenitor of the apophaticism of the Eastern Church. This can be clearly seen in two principal representatives of the apophaticism of the Eastern Church, namely, Gregory of Nyssa and Dionysios the Areopagite.

Gregory of Nyssa laid the foundation of the apophaticism of the Eastern Church.

Through Gregory of Nyssa what was deepest in Platonic mysticism entered into the Christian faith and the thought of the Eastern Church, just as through Augustine into that of the West. It was also Gregory who pointed the way to the Areopagite, although the latter for a long time actually eclipsed him, especially for Western theology, indeed, virtually surrendered him to forgetfulness.³⁶

This judgment of F. Heiler could awaken the impression that with his apophatic theology, which was first clearly expressed by him, Gregory of Nyssa introduced a pagan modality into the Church. Actually, however, the opposite happened. According to J. Hochstaffl the following is the case: "Gregory of Nyssa appears to have been one of the first to find transcribed in the Decalogue a concept of negative theology.... Gregory discovered in the Decalogue an understanding of negative theology which radicalized and surpassed the Neo-Platonic."³⁷ In his principal work on apophaticism, *De vita Moysis*, Gregory of Nyssa writes: "If anyone demands a explanation, a conceptual paraphrase and a exposition of the divine nature, we would not deny that we have understood nothing from such a science. This alone we confess, that, corresponding to his nature, it is not possible to grasp the unlimited through thinking composable in words."³⁸ For this Gregory gives the following explanation:

...the Divine is by its nature life-giving. Yet the characteristic of the divine nature is to transcend all characteristics. Therefore, he who thinks God is something to be known does not have life, because he has turned from true

³⁶F. Heiler, *Die Ostkirchen*, 281 Cf L. Thunberg, 433 "It remains a fact that it was Gregory (of Nyssa) who first developed a theology of the divine darkness In this sense he is the decisive predecessor not only of Ps Denys but also of a mystic like John of the Cross" See also J Hochstaffl, 109-119 and J Meyendorff, *St Gregoire Palamas et la mystique orthodoxe* (Paris Seuil, 1959), 42f

³⁷J Hochstaffl, 117-149

³⁸*De Vita Moysis* PG 44 297-430

Being to what he considers by sense perception to have being. True being is true life. This Being is inaccessible to knowledge. If then the life-giving nature transcends knowledge, that which is perceived certainly is not life. It is not in the nature of what is not life to be the cause of life. Thus, what Moses yearned for is satisfied by the very things which leave his desire unsatisfied.³⁹

Gregory summarized his apophaticism in the following words: "First we learn what is necessary to know of God: this knowledge consists in applying to him nothing that can be known with the power of human conception."⁴⁰

The theological thinking of the Greek Church Fathers developed on the apophatic foundation of Gregory of Nyssa. Basil the Great of Caesarea determined: "That is knowledge... of the divine nature: the perception of his incomprehensibility."⁴¹ Gregory Nazianzus commented on the well known classical passage of Plato (*Timaios* 28C) as follows: "It is difficult to comprehend God, and it is impossible to conceive him in words... In my opinion it is indeed impossible to express (what God is), but it is still more difficult to comprehend him."⁴² For Gregory the basis of apophaticism remained the Old Testament injunction against images.⁴³ And Epiphanius asserts: "Heresy" is the "servant of gods, of which it is unaware."⁴⁴ John Chrysostom, the author of the five addresses "On the Incomprehensibility of God," clearly states: "There is a true knowledge, namely, not-knowing" (PG 55 459). Cyril of Jerusalem stated: "in the divine things it is a great knowing to admit not-knowing."⁴⁵ The most beautiful summary of the apophaticism of the Eastern Church is to be found in John of Damascus: "The Divine is infinite and inconceivable, and the unique thing that we can understand of him is his infiniteness and inconceivability. Everything that we can say positively, concerns not his nature, but only that which surrounds his nature."⁴⁶ The following is true of the entirety of Greek patristics:

³⁹*De vita Moysis* 2 PG 44, 404B; cited from Hochstaffl, 115 [Engl Trans Gregory of Nyssa (CWS), 115]

⁴⁰*Ibid*, col 377C; cited from J Hochstaffl, 119.

⁴¹*Epist* 234. PG 32, 869C; cited from J Hochstaffl, 108f Cf V Lossky, 43.

⁴²*Oratio* 28 (*theologica* 2), 4 PG 36, 29C-32A, cited from J Hochstaffl, 106f

⁴³*Ibid* 6 PG 36, 32C; cited from J Hochstaffl, 107 Cf. V Lossky, 45

⁴⁴*Panarion* 9,2 PG 41, 224BC, cited from J Hochstaffl, 99

⁴⁵PG 33, 541A; cited from A Kallis, *Orthodoxie—was ist das?* (Mainz: Grunewald, 1979), 44.

⁴⁶*De fide orthodoxa* I,4 PG 94, 800AB, cited from the translation by V Lossky, 47-48

The intention of apophatic theology consists in this, that the Greek theology enclosed within it had to be shattered and transcended, because we cannot use the concepts of the human mind or of the creature enclosed within it, above all the concept of Being, to designate God, the truth. Thus the absolute difference of the Being of God as it stands in the midst of biblical theology, is so strongly accentuated that the biblical understanding of God stands in sharp opposition to the Greeks' understanding of God.⁴⁷

To Dionysios the Areopagite is due a quite special place in the tradition of the apophaticism of the Eastern Church. Not only because he counts as the creator of the concept of "negative or apophatic" theology,⁴⁸ but because with him apophaticism constitutes the core of his entire theology. According to W. Weischedel "Dionysios—not as the first, but nevertheless with a hitherto unknown intensity—posits beside affirmative theology the denying"⁴⁹ and "thus the whole further history of philosophical mysticism from Dionysios on is decisively determined: beyond Meister Eckhart and Jacob Boehme to Schelling."⁵⁰ The corpus of the Areopagite played an enormously important role, for it stands at the crossroads between Christianity and Hellenism, as well as between the Western and the Eastern Church. The fact that it was heretics (Monophysites) who endeavored to support their heresy by appealing to his corpus casts suspicion on it. On the other side, it is likewise true that two eminent Church Fathers, Maximos the Confessor in the seventh century and Gregory Palamas in the fourteenth century commented on this corpus and defended it. Consequently, the Areopagitic corpus almost achieved canonical status in the Eastern Church. The Western Church based its negative theology on Dionysios, Scotus Eriugena translated him into Latin, and Thomas Aquinas commented on his book, *On the Divine Names*. According to R. Roques, Dionysios is a "master of the Western world."⁵¹ In the twentieth century it is Lossky

⁴⁷J Zizioulas, 21.

⁴⁸J Hochstaffl, 13; E Jungel, *Gott als Geheimnis* 348. On Dionysios cf. G Florovsky 437-480; F Heiler, *Ostkirchen* 281-285, J. Hochstaffl 120-155; V. Lossky 31-57; *idem*. "La théologie négative dans la doctrine de Denys l'Aréopagite," *RSPTh* 28 (1939), 204-221, *idem*, "L'apophase et la theologie trinitaire," *A l'image et à la ressemblance de Dieu* (Paris. Aubier, 1967) 7-23, M Lot-Borodine 33-36; J Meyendorff 88-91, C. Yannaras, *De l'absence*, *passim*; W. Weischedel, 92-98 and J Zizioulas, 20-23

⁴⁹W Weischedel, 94.

⁵⁰*Ibid.* 98

⁵¹R. Roques, "Dionysius Areopagites," *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* 3 (1957), cols. 1075-1121, esp col 1076.

who alerted the theology of the Eastern Church again to Dionysios, and modern Greek theology (C. Yannaras) occupies itself intensively with Dionysian conceptions. The work of the Areopagite solved the question of the relationship between ancient Greek apophaticism and the apophaticism of the Eastern Church by attempting to Christianize Hellenistic apophaticism. F. Heiler asserts the following: "Through this synthesis he (Dionysios) on the one hand Christianized and ecclesiasticized Neo-Platonism, and on the other, turned the Christian cult more inward and spiritualized it."⁵² Lossky states: "Everything that can be said about the Platonism of the Church Fathers and especially about the dependence of the Areopagite on the Neo-Platonic philosophers is limited to external similarities which do not touch the essence of the doctrine and are conditioned by the idiom then current."⁵³ According to Florovsky⁵⁴ the Areopagite is an orthodox Christian who accepted Neo-Platonic terminology for apologetic reasons in order to bring the Christians of this time into conversation with people educated in Neo-Platonic philosophy. Florovsky stresses that Dionysios' original inspiration is genuinely Christian; but Florovsky at the same time makes the remark that "the synthesis between philosophy and Christian tradition which Dionysios attempted, did not succeed."⁵⁵

In our view the Areopagitic corpus is a very clear sign that apophaticism may be evaluated, not on the basis of terminology but on the basis of material theological nuances. Taking Dionysios for an example, one can easily see the continuity and discontinuity between ancient Greek apophaticism and that of the Eastern Church. In respect to this J. Zizioulas remarks:

The Neo-Platonic world of images in the "hierarchy" of the Areopagitic writings has led several investigators into the error of speaking of a Neo-Platonic influence. But what is essential does not lie in these imaginal ideas, but in the meaning uncovered from them. The essential point lies namely in the fact that in opposition to the Neo-Platonic emanations the Dionysian hierarchy does not assert that the lower being proceeds from the higher Being.⁵⁶

⁵²F Heiler 283

⁵³V Lossky, *Mystical Theology*, 42

⁵⁴G Florovsky, 474-476

⁵⁵G Florovsky, 479

⁵⁶J Zizioulas, 21

It is not accidental that Maximos the Confessor in the seventh century with the help of Dionysios demarcated Orthodoxy from Platonic-Origenistic-Monophysitic heresy.

If the Areopagitic corpus solved one question, namely, the relation of Hellenistic apophaticism to that of the Eastern Church, it however also raised another question, namely, the question of the relation of the apophatic theology of the Eastern Church to the *theologia negativa* of the Western Church. It is no mere historical accident that the Western Church accepted Dionysios and developed its negative theology based on him. According to J. Meyendorff the Areopagitic corpus is "the most read Greek writing of the Latin philosophers of the Middle Ages."⁵⁷ In the fourteenth century it was the theologian of the western Church, Barlaam, who attempted to base the unification of the Western and Eastern Churches on Dionysios. Gregory Palamas however rejected that and expounded Areopagitic apophaticism in an orthodox manner. Since then, thanks to the mediation of Palamas, apophaticism has remained a bone of contention between the Western and Eastern Church. Barlaam misunderstood Dionysios and made a nominalistic agnosticism of apophaticism; on the contrary it was Palamas who understood the Areopagitic corpus in an orthodox way and developed out of Dionysian apophaticism a weapon against Scholasticism as well as against Nominalism. The difference between the negative theology of the Western Church and the apophaticism of the Eastern Church can only be correctly understood by comparing the foundation of the *theologia negativa* by the fourth Lateran Council with the Orthodox differentiation between substance and energies.

The analogy of dissimilar similarities also explains the radical difference between the apophaticism of the Greek theologians and the *theologia negativa* of Western Scholasticism. The *theologia negativa* is comparable to objective dissimilarities, just as the cataphatic theology (*theologia affirmativa*) is comparable to the objective similarities. And in both cases we are dealing with comparisons of essences and ontic characteristics. . . The analogy of dissimilar similarities, however, i.e., the apophaticism of the Byzantine theologians, is based not on the quantitative comparison of objective dissimilarities, which accepts a number of similarities, but on the understanding of objective similarities as actual dissimilarities: i.e. it relates the dissimilarity to the otherness of personal modes of existence, to the priority of existence in connection with the conception of objective es-

⁵⁷J. Meyendorff, 88

sences.⁵⁸

The negative theology of the Western Church is related to the priority of substance over against the person, whereas the apophatic theology of the Eastern Church is based on the priority of the person over substance.

The further theological-historical development of apophaticism in the Eastern Church is the continuation of the Areopagitic tradition. Two important stations of this history of the tradition should be mentioned. The first station is connected with Maximos the Confessor⁵⁹ in the seventh century. Maximos commented on the Dionysian corpus and made of it a weapon against the Platonic-Origenistic-Monophysitic heresy. The basis of his interpretation is the abyss (Ungrund) which yawns between uncreated and created nature. In this way Maximos modified Dionysios ontologically, gnoseologically and theologically. Thus every suspicion of Hellenism in Dionysios became invalidated. Because of this, since Maximos the terminological relationship with Platonism can no longer conceal the unbridgeable difference between the apophaticism of the Eastern Church and that of Hellenism. The second station concerns Gregory Palamas in the fourteenth century. If Maximos, in the seventh century on the basis of Dionysios effectively answered the question of the relation of ancient Greek apophaticism to that of the patristic period, Gregory Palamas in the fourteenth century fundamentally solved the other question, namely, that of the difference between the apophaticism of the Western Church and that of the Eastern Church. The Palamitic commentaries on the Areopagitic corpus draw the theological boundaries between the apophaticism of the Eastern Church on the one hand, and Nominalism and Scholasticism on the other hand. What is lacking in the *theologia negativa* of the Western Church is the basic theological premise of the Eastern Church, i.e. the difference between the substance and the energies of God. According to Palamas God is to be spoken of apophatically, because the substance of God always remains unknowable, while only his energies make him knowable.⁶⁰ If this difference is disregarded, then the theology of apophaticism runs the constant danger of developing a nominalistic agnosticism from a

⁵⁸C. Yannaras, *Person und Eros*, 205f

⁵⁹On Maximos the Confessor cf. Hans Urs von Balthasar, *Die kosmische liturgie Das Weltbild des Maximus Confessor* (Einsiedeln: Johannes Verlag, 1961 [3rd ed.]), J. Hochstaffl 151ff., L. Thunberg, esp. 436-440 and J. Zizioulas, 21-33

⁶⁰C. Yannaras, *De l'absence*, 99 "Here we reach the very foundation of the theological knowledge of the Eastern Church. the distinction between the essence of God and the energies of God. This reveals the specific difference separating Eastern and Western apophaticism." Cf. the essay by K. Ware in note 4

theologia negativa. With the words of Palamas the following holds true: "The super-essential nature of God is not a subject for speech or thought or even contemplation, for it is far removed from all that exists and more than unknowable, being founded upon the uncircumscribed might of the celestial spirits -incomprehensible and ineffable to all forever.... None can properly name its essence or nature if he be truly seeking the truth that is above all truth."⁶¹

Neo-patristic reality.

The more recent Orthodox theology of the twentieth century actualizes patristic apophaticism. It was Vladimir Lossky⁶² who refers to Dionysian apophaticism in his epoch-making book, *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church* (1944; English Translation 1954), written during his thirty year exile in Paris. According to Lossky "all true theology is fundamentally apophatic" (p. 39) and apophaticism has proved to be "truly characteristic of the whole tradition of the Eastern Church" (p. 42). His views are shared by the majority of Russian theologians of the emigration (M. Lot-Borodine, et al.). At the same time Lossky emphasizes that the apophaticism of the Eastern Church is quite far removed from Plotinian as well as Thomistic negative theology, and in a series of essays he is concerned to show the trinitarian foundation of Areopagitic apophaticism.

Twenty years later, with his study, "Prolegomena of Theological Gnoseology" (1965), Nikos Nissiotis⁶³ renewed apophaticism in modern Greek theological circles and exercises fundamental criticism of Scholastic natural theology as well as of so-called "Dialectical Theology" (Barth, Bultmann). "The Greek Church Fathers indeed continued the deep theological agnosticism of ancient Greek philosophy, in that it did not know the essence of God, but knows God rather through his energies" (p. 8). "At

⁶¹Gregory Palamas, *Theophanes* PG 150, 937A (Cited from Lossky, *Mystical Theology*, 37) Cf. Gregory Palamas, *Capila*, 123: PG 150, 1205D and 1208B On Palamas, cf. J. Meyendorff, esp 75-132 and *Introduction a l'etude de Gregoire Palamas* (Paris Seuil, 1959 (Biblio)

⁶²On Lossky cf the bibliography of the present study Lossky's citations stem from the German translation of his *Mystische Theologie der morgenlandischen Kirche* [Engl. Trans. ' *Mystical Theology*]. Cf V. Lossky, *Orthodox Theology. An Introduction*, transl by I. & I Kesarcodi-Watson (New York: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1978)

⁶³On Nissiotis cf the Greek and German bibliography of the present study. Nissiotis' citation stems from the Greek edition of his works (transl by Author) [Ed. note. Readers should consult the original German text for these references.]

the center of theological thinking stands a peculiar and very significant agnosticism which can be designated as neither sceptical, pessimistic nor even nihilistic, but as pious, eucharistic and humble" (pp. 26f.). In his work, "Philosophy of Religion and Philosophical Theology" (1965) he summarizes his views: "The unknown God who has become known to us remains incomprehensible in his essence. The knowledge of God is not the consequence of the revelation of his essence, but rather the human participation in his energy" (pp. 48f.). In this sense theology is not only a "science," i.e. a merely rationalistic affair, but also a doxology,⁶⁴ i.e. a poetic-hymnic exposition of the presence of God in the Church, as Nissiotis emphasizes.

Christos Yannaras'⁶⁵ study, "The Theology of Absence and Unknowability of God with reference to the Areopagite writings and to M. Heidegger" (1967) takes up apophaticism once again in such a way that the theology of the Eastern Church can enter into dialogue with the theology of the Western Church and with Western secular society. Yannaras' starting point is the rift between the Greek-Byzantine East and the Latin medieval West. In the East apophatic theology reigns, i.e. a theology of the unknowability of God, and in the West Roman Catholic theology of the Latin Middle Ages with its Scholasticism and Nominalism leads to the Renaissance and the Enlightenment. The modern secularized world is a legitimate reaction against Roman Catholicism which, besides natural theology, has developed no apophatic theology, but a negative theology. The end result of the medieval theology of the West (both its natural as well as its negative theology) is the nihilism diagnosed by F. Nietzsche and accepted by Martin Heidegger—a nihilism that presupposes the absence of God. Had an apophatic theology developed in the West, the nihilism of modern secularization would not have eventuated. But because, according to Yannaras, the consequences of nihilism (theology of the absence of God) and of apophaticism (theology of the unknowability of God)—and only they—coincide, on this basis a conversation between the modern secularized world and the traditional Orthodox Church can arise. In recent years

⁶⁴N Nissiotis, "La théologie en tant que science et en tant que doxologie," *Irenikon* 33 (1960)3, 290-310

⁶⁵On C Yannaras cf. the Greek and German bibliography of our study. On the criticism of Yannaras' views on apophaticism cf. the Greek contributions of N Matsoukas and P Trembelas in the bibliography, the French attitudes of O Clement in the Foreword to C Yannaras' *De l'absence*, 9-42, esp. 20ff and A Gouhier in *DSp* 11 (1981), 64-80, and the English reactions of N Nissiotis and Msgr Chrysostomos Konstantinides to the essay of C Yannaras, "Orthodoxy and the West," *GOTR* 17 (1972) 1, 115-131 (Reactions 132-142 and 143-166)

Yannaras has further developed his apophatic views and attempted to conduct a dialogue with philosophy (Heidegger, Wittgenstein, Popper), with epistemology (Kuhn, Feyerabend) and Neo-Marxism (the Frankfurt School). In this dialogue the sure worth of apophaticism becomes newly apparent.

The Nature Of Apophaticism

Our next task is systematically to define the gnoseological and ontological content of the apophaticism of the Eastern Church.

The Context of the Eastern Church

In order correctly and genuinely to understand apophaticism appeal should be made initially to the fundamental theological premises of the Eastern Church.⁶⁶

a) The ontological difference between God's essence, or substance (οὐσία) and God's activity, or energy (ἐνέργεια). God's essence is completely transcendent, incommunicable and unknowable, but God's activity is immanent, communicable and conceivable.

b) The distinction between person (πρόσωπον), or hypostasis (ὑπόστασις), and being (οὐσία), or nature (φύσις), in the concept of God with the primacy of the person over being. The basic statement of the Eastern Church remains the determination: "The Christian God is a personal God."⁶⁷ The person is strongly distinguished from the individual and implies relation, communion, community and society. Apophaticism favors a personal and participatory knowledge of God and rejects every "natural" and possessive doctrine of knowledge.

c) The distinction between created (κτιστόν) and uncreated (ἄκτιστον). God the Creator is ontologically uncreated, whereas the creatures (man and nature) are, according to their nature, created. The Eastern Church knows no polarity between nature-supernature, nature-grace; instead, it proceeds solely from the ontological difference: created-uncreated. Apophaticism is based on this distinction: the uncreated God can never be completely known by the created man.⁶⁸

⁶⁶J.N Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines* (New York Harper & Row, 1958), G L Prestige, *God in Patristic Thought* (London SPCK, 1969)

⁶⁷N Nissiotis, *Die Theologie der Ostkirche* (Stuttgart Evang Verlag, 1968), 29

⁶⁸J Meyendorff, *St Grégoire Palamas* 117 and 124 Cf Nissiotis, 31f

d) God's incarnation has as a consequence the deification (θέωσις) of man which alone is the highest goal of the Christian life. Deification means, not mixing with the Divine, but rather participation. "God became man in order that man can become God,"⁶⁹ or "ut fierit filius hominibus, ad hoc ut homo fierit filius Dei."⁷⁰ The following is the basic motif of the theology of the Eastern Church: "only that is saved which becomes one with God."⁷¹

e) Knowledge is the encounter of persons and culminates in love. The medieval conception of truth as "adaequatio rei et intellectus" (Thomas Aquinas) is completely foreign to the Eastern Church. Even the modern equation "Truth is power" (Fr. Bacon) has absolutely no place in the Christian East. "Knowledge is the unity of the knower with the known" (Dionysios the Areopagite). Knowledge means becoming one, being related to the other and in no case mastery or grasping. According to Gregory of Nyssa "knowledge is love" (PG 44 96C), otherwise it is not knowledge. Apophaticism is an erotic knowledge.

Gnoseological Content

The epistemological nature of the apophaticism of the Eastern Church consists of three elements: the personal, the dialectical, and the mystical.

a) Apophatic theology aims at personal knowledge and absolutely denies any possessive knowledge. The apophaticism of the Eastern Church stands in the mode of being and not in the mode of having.⁷² To know God apophatically means to be in relation with God as person, and not to have, master or grasp God as a thing or object.⁷³ Man and God are not to be understood with the schema: subject-object, but eschatologically,⁷⁴ i.e. in

⁶⁹Athanasius, *De incarnat* 54· PG 25, 192B

⁷⁰Irenaeus, *Adv. haer* 3,10,2. PG 7, 875

⁷¹Gregory Nazianzus, *Epist* 101 PG 37, 118 Citations and Commentaries by G Florovsky, *Collected Works* (Belmont, MA Nordland, 1972-1976), Vol III, 280

⁷²E Fromm, *Haben oder Sein* (Munich DTV, 1980 [6th ed], Engl Trans · *To Have or to Be?* World Perspectives vol 50 [New York. Harper & Row, Publishers, 1976]), G Marcel, *Etre et Avoir* (Paris· Aubier, 1968, Engl Trans · *Being and Having An Existentialist Diary* [Harper Torchbooks New York Harper & Row, Publishers, 1965])

⁷³M. Lot-Borodine, 29, note 8 "This is repeated by the Greek Fathers, like Saint Basil and Saint Gregory Nazianzus: to know fully, the subject must be one with the object of knowledge" V Lossky, *Mystical Theology*, 30f. and J Zizioulas, esp. 48 "Truth frees by relocating man in community"

⁷⁴V Lossky, *Orthodox Theology An Introduction*, 14

the perspective of the project.⁷⁵ "God is not only the one who is here or was here, but is always the ἐρχόμενος the one who comes, the Pantocrator" (Rev 1:18).⁷⁶ Apophatic theology denies all attributes of God, for God transcends being and becoming, and only "coming" is appropriate: both the Old Testament promise (ἐπαγγελία) and the New Testament Gospel (εὐαγγέλιον) theologically and eschatologically refer to God as the coming one. The patristic teaching of the Eastern Church adopted and expanded both basic biblical ideas, i.e. the personal and eschatological concept of God. "Person is the key biblical concept in the relation between God and man,"⁷⁷ and this truth lives on in the praxis of the Eastern Church, both in its Divine Service⁷⁸ and in its ethics, for according to the basic principle of the anthropology of the Eastern Church: "Man is what he is when he participates in the ecclesial community."⁷⁹ This is the meaning of the personalism of the Eastern Church: "The existential point of departure of Orthodoxy is determined by the principle of community and the experience of communication. The existentialism of Eastern Orthodoxy has nothing to do with the individualism of the existential, but only with the personality of the member of the Ecclesia at all times and in all places.... Existential conduct means the transition from the individuum (*pro me*) to the person (*pro nobis*)."⁸⁰ Apophaticism marks the transition from individuality to relationality, and thus the polarity between subjectivism and objectivism is in principle overcome. Apophaticism means ultimately intersubjectivity, i.e. communal and mutual knowledge.

b) Apophaticism postulates a dialectical knowledge of God and overcomes analogical knowledge. The knowledge of God consists not only in analogical correspondence ("Like is known by like"), but also in dialectical opposition ("Like is known by unlike"). Cataphatic theology works principally, if not exclusively, with analogy, whereas apophatic theology prefers dialectic.⁸¹ God and man are ontologically dissimilar, but man can

⁷⁵On the concept of project, cf. J. Moltmann, *The Trinity and the Kingdom: The Doctrine of God* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1981), 216ff

⁷⁶N. Nissiotis, 60.

⁷⁷Ibid. 47

⁷⁸Ibid. 105f.

⁷⁹Ibid. 49.

⁸⁰N. Nissiotis, "Der pneumatologische Ansatz und die liturgische Verwirklichung des neutestamentlichen νῶν," *Oikonomia* (Festschrift O. Cullmann) (Hamburg-Bergstedt. Reich, 1967), 303f

⁸¹On analogy vs. dialectic in theology, cf. J. Moltmann, *The Crucified God: The Cross of Christ as the Foundation and Criticism of Christian Theology* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1974), 25ff and W. Weischedel, Vol II, 218ff

know God under the condition of apophaticism. Dionysios the Areopagite stated: "in respect to the Divine denials are true, affirmations insufficient."⁸² P. Evdokimov explains it as follows: "The theology of the Eastern Church is always an apophatic knowledge of God, a denial of all human anthropomorphic definitonal terms";⁸³ "this does not hold true: the one or the other, rather. the one *or* the other simultaneously."⁸⁴ The antinomic structure of Christian doctrine is to be understood apophatically: "The highest point of revelation, the dogma of the Holy Trinity, is pre-eminently an antinomy"⁸⁵ In this way apophaticism is the continuation of the Old Testament injunction against idolatry,⁸⁶ and according to Gregory of Nyssa it is true that "Concepts generate idols of God, only wonder comprehends something" (PG 44.377B). And W. Weischedel comments on Dionysios the Areopagite as follows: "God can only be spoken of appropriately in a dialectical way There are 'perceptions, discourse, names' and yet he cannot be perceived or expressed as named" (*De divin. nomin. VII.3*)⁸⁷ Hochstaffl asserts: "Negative theology and negative dialectic illustrate one another in the medium of critical praxis."⁸⁸

c) Apophaticism implies a mystagogical knowledge of God and represents a rational, but scarcely rationalistic knowledge. The mystagogical includes the mystical, not in an individualistic sense, but in a communal-ecclesial, eucharistic and doxological perspective. F. Heiler states: "Orthodox theology is a theology of experience, *theologia experimentalis*, mystical theology"⁸⁹ and remarks rightly: "Mysticism is the most beautiful and finest blossom of the Orthodox Church"⁹⁰ Mysticism means the experience of unity: on this Christianity is generally agreed. According to Thomas Aquinas mysticism is "*cognitio Dei experimentalis*,"⁹¹ and Luther called it "*sapientia experimentalis et non doctrinalis*."⁹² In modern times mysticism came to be interpreted individualistically. Mysticism can actu-

⁸²Cited from J. Hochstaffl, 125

⁸³P. Evdokimov, 53

⁸⁴Ibid. 175. Cf. Gregory Palamas, *Capita*, 121. PG 150, 1205C

⁸⁵V. Lossky, *Mystical Theology* 43

⁸⁶V. Lossky, 'A l'image 8

⁸⁷W. Weischedel, Vol. 196. Cf. G. Gurvitch, *Dialectique et Sociologie* (Paris: Flammarion, 1972) 61-67 ("La dialectique mystique négative")

⁸⁸J. Hochstaffl 12

⁸⁹F. Heiler, *Die Ostkirchen* 114. He characterizes the Orthodox Liturgy as "the great school of mysticism" 276

⁹⁰F. Heiler 292

⁹¹L. Richter, "Mystik," *RGG* 34 (1960) 1237

⁹²J. Moltmann, *Experiences of God* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980) 83, n. 1

alize the unity only in the context of a community, for which reason genuine Christian mysticism must be ecclesial, eucharistic and mystagogical. But "above all, for the Orthodox tradition everything in the life of the Church can be characterized as eucharistic."⁹³ Apophatic, mystical and mystagogical theology have become synonymous. But the distinction between the rational and the rationalistic is very important for our theme, for another modern conception often equates mysticism with the irrational. Rational knowledge means self-critical reason, i.e. reason which is fully conscious of its limits. Rationalistic thinking means one-sided reason, lacking a self-critical function. Apophaticism implies a genuine critique of reason, for it is aware of its limits. Apophatic theology is rational, but hardly rationalistic. Apophaticism has nothing to do with agnosticism.⁹⁴ The goal of apophaticism is no mere speculation for its own sake (art for art's sake), i.e. no theology for theology's sake, but the change of human life, the new creation, the transition from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom. J. Meyendorff expressed it clearly: "That is the difference between hesychastic mysticism and Indian nirvana: what the Christian mystic seeks, is the new life in Christ."⁹⁵ And P. Evdokimov states: "Apophaticism gives us the correct perspective for all theology: man does not speculate, but is changed."⁹⁶ With apophaticism the boundary between being and knowing disappears, also between knowledge and interest, for thinking becomes one with life.

Ontological Content

The ontological nature of the apophaticism of the Eastern Church can be defined exactly in three elements: the trinitarian, the christological and the eschatological.

a) The apophaticism of the Eastern Church is trinitarian. The Trinity is the foundation "on which Orthodoxy stands,"⁹⁷ and "for the Fathers theology is distinctly a vision of the Trinity."⁹⁸ According to Heiler it is true that "The trinitarian character of the concept of God comes to the fore in litur-

⁹³N Nissiotis 118

⁹⁴V Lossky, *Mystical Theology* 43 "[Apophaticism] does not mean agnosticism." Cf J Zizioulas 22, P Evdokimov 55; A Kallis 46f

⁹⁵J Meyendorff, *St Grégoire Palamas* 118 Cf V Lossky 38

⁹⁶P. Evdokimov 56 C Yannaras, *De l'absence* 115. "Knowledge of God is not simply information, but fundamentally a 'passion'"

⁹⁷N Nissiotis 19

⁹⁸P Evdokimov 50

gical texts and in theological literature more strongly than in the West.”⁹⁹ “Our social program is the doctrine of the Trinity,” said the Russian philosopher of religion, Fedorov, in the twentieth century; and V. Lossky said pointedly: “Between Trinity and hell for us there is no other choice.”¹⁰⁰ Apophaticism is closely connected with the Trinity. Dionysios the Areopagite begins his *Mystical Theology* with the appeal to the Trinity.¹⁰¹ In reference to Maximos, L. Thunberg writes: “At the very summit of mystical theology a dialectic between unity and diversity is the final dynamism of Maximos’ thought, a fact which at the same time explains why his trinitarian theology has to be negative theology.”¹⁰²

b) The apophaticism of the Eastern Church is christological. “Christology is the unique point of departure for the truth.”¹⁰³ If this assertion holds, then apophaticism and Christology are closely connected. And actually it is so, for God’s incarnation and human deification condition each other. “For the whole of Eastern piety human deification is the goal of God’s incarnation.”¹⁰⁴ M. Lot-Borodine has shown that deification is based on apophaticism.¹⁰⁵ W. Weischedel emphasizes the connection between christology and apophaticism in the thought of the Areopagite.¹⁰⁶ According to P. Evdokimov, “Orthodox morality is not moralistic, but ontological: it is the ontology of deification.”¹⁰⁷ From the perspective of christology it is true of the whole of patristic theology that “The substrate of Being is accordingly not Being, but love.”¹⁰⁸

c) The apophaticism of the Eastern Church is eschatological. “Orthodoxy is simultaneously historical and eschatological.”¹⁰⁹ According to the Bulgarian Orthodox theologian Zankov, “Orthodox Christianity has perhaps best preserved the eschatological character of early Christianity.”¹¹⁰ G. Florovsky says expressly: “Christianity is essentially eschatological,

⁹⁹F Heiler 116

¹⁰⁰Examples in T Ware, *The Orthodox Church* (Harmondsworth Penguin, 1972) 216

¹⁰¹Commentary by V. Lossky, *A l’image* 7-23 Cf W Weischedel Vol I 97

¹⁰²L Thunberg 441. Cf *ibid* 440 “Trinitarian theology to Maximus is an integral part of negative theology”

¹⁰³J Zizioulas 2

¹⁰⁴F Heiler 427 Cf M Lot-Borodine 40.

¹⁰⁵M Lot-Borodine 22

¹⁰⁶W Weischedel 97

¹⁰⁷P Evdokimov 94

¹⁰⁸J Zizioulas 27

¹⁰⁹N Nissiotis 233

¹¹⁰Cited from F Heiler 143

and the Church is an eschatological community.... The Christian perspective is strictly speaking eschatological."¹¹¹ P. Evdokimov states: "Mystical ascent orients the soul to the Kingdom of God."¹¹² And N. Nissiotis notes: "This eschatological emphasis is clearly evident in the Orthodox Divine Service."¹¹³ The close connection of eschatology with apophaticism is easily traced to the work of a Maximos and a Palamas. Maximos writes: "The things of the Old (Testament) are shadows, whereas the things of the New Testament are image, and the future things are truth."¹¹⁴ For the whole patristic tradition the following principle holds: "Ontology and history stand in close connection for the Greek Fathers. The truth of time is not an ontologically inexplicable interval between beginning and end, but the sphere of the psychological anamnesis of the forgotten and the equally psychological hope for what is future; it is the period of awakening toward the end which is greater than the period of the beginning of becoming. The truth of history lies in the future."¹¹⁵ In reference to Gregory Palamas, J. Meyendorff notes the following: "Christ does not attempt to free himself from history..., but understands the goal and meaning of history.... This eschatological perspective of Palamite thought is necessary for understanding his theology."¹¹⁶

Eschatology is the foundation of three religious phenomena: prophecy, martyrdom and monasticism. This connection is clearly evident in the Eastern Church. F. Heiler notes: "The ancient Christian idea of the *martyrii praerogativa* lives on in this emphasis upon the vision of God and deification of the saints."¹¹⁷ According to him the mysticism of the Eastern Church is "a piece of early Christianity"¹¹⁸ and he states: "The Eastern Church is permeated by the early Christian spirit of the martyrs."¹¹⁹ If it is true that "the place of mystical experience is in very truth the cell -the prison cell,"¹²⁰, then this is true also of the monastic cell in the monastery, for the monasticism of the Eastern Church is the Byzantine continuation of early Christian martyrdom by other means.¹²¹ Maximos the Confessor for instance was in

¹¹¹G. Florovsky, *Collected Works* Vol IV 63

¹¹²P. Evdokimov 118.

¹¹³N. Nissiotis 60

¹¹⁴Maximos, *Schol in eccles. huer.*, 3, 3, 2, cited from J. Zizioulas, 28.

¹¹⁵J. Zizioulas 25f

¹¹⁶J. Meyendorff 120

¹¹⁷F. Heiler 144

¹¹⁸Ibid 293

¹¹⁹Ibid. 428.

¹²⁰J. Moltmann, *Experiences of God* 72

¹²¹Examples in G. Florovsky, *Collected Works*, II, 67-100

prison and in exile because he led the resistance against imperial power politics. J. Meyendorff traces Eastern Christian mysticism back to Old Testament prophecy and early Christian martyrdom.¹²² On this he thinks that "Christian sanctity is essentially prophetic."¹²³ P. Evdokimov rightly expresses it: "The 'Baptism of Blood' of the martyrs is transformed into the 'eschatological baptism' of *askesis* (asceticism)."¹²⁴ Without eschatology and monasticism asceticism in its Christian sense cannot be understood; without asceticism and martyrdom eschatology risks its prophetic function. In monasticism asceticism, mysticism and apophaticism run along together. The highest monastic virtue in the Eastern Church is humility (ταπείνωσις). And humility is the praxis of apophatic theology. Apophaticism is humility of spirit, voluntary forfeiture of one's own ego for the restoration of the self, of identity. Ascetic humility and theological apophaticism are two sides of one thing. Is it a pure accident that the Church Fathers were simultaneously monks, ascetics, mystics and apophatic theologians?

The Relevance Of Apophaticism

The apophaticism of the Eastern Church as a theological principle has today won a new standing in ecumenical theology and in the secularized world. As a principle for renouncing the limitation of truth in the area of concepts and as a rejection of all idolatry, or ideology, a proper apophaticism is represented by philosophy, physics, psychology and politics. These point to an eventual revival of apophaticism. The following notes serve as exemplary suggestions and not as an extensive treatment of this topical thematic.

Ecumenical theology

Despite the difference between the negative theology of the Western Church and the apophatic theology of the Eastern Church one notices today in circles of ecumenically engaged theologians a better understanding of apophaticism, a richer acquaintance with the theology of the Eastern Church and a new openness and readiness for acceptance of the modes of thinking of the Eastern Church. A sign of this turn in the ecumenical movement is the new attitude of evangelical theology toward the mysticism of the Eastern Church and the basic preoccupation of several prominent representatives of the Roman Catholic Church with the Orthodox patristic

¹²²Examples in J. Meyendorff 7-17

¹²³J. Meyendorff 96

tradition.

As far as evangelical theology is concerned, it suffices to mention three names: Adolf von Harnack, Rudolf Bultmann and Jürgen Moltmann. A. v. Hamack was against mysticism, scoffed at the Eastern Church, although he relatively highly treasured the monasticism of the Eastern Church.¹²⁵ As far as deification was concerned, he thought that "[T]he notion of redemption as a deification of mortal nature is sub-Christian, because the moral element can at best be only tacked on to it."¹²⁶ R. Bultmann sharply separated mysticism and eschatology from one another: "The New Testament is already distinguished from mysticism by eschatology."¹²⁷ and "One cannot speak here (in the New Testament) of mysticism."¹²⁸ To the contrary J. Moltmann connects mysticism and eschatology: "What the early and the modern mystics all describe is really the history of the liberation of human passion from the melancholy forms of satisfaction."¹²⁹ A comparison of the three attitudes cited above shows clearly enough the correction of the course of evangelical theology and points to the new horizon of the ecumenical encounter with the apophaticism of the Eastern Church.

In respect to present Roman Catholic theology, one can mention, irrespective of J. Hochstaffl's capital study (with a Foreword by J.B. Metz), the so-called "nouvelle theologie."¹³⁰ Eminent scholars of the apophaticism of the Eastern Church, like e.g. Hans Urs von Balthasar, J. Daniélou, H. de Lubac et al. on the Catholic side, became mindful of patristic theology thanks to their encounter with the theologians of the Eastern Church and, above all, with Russian emigrants in the last thirty years. J. Daniélou writes in the Foreword to the book by M. Lot-Borodine: "The reading of these

¹²⁴ P Evdokimov 99

¹²⁵ A v Harnack, *Das Wesen des Christentums* (Gutersloh GBT, 1977), 143 [Engl Trans *The Essence of Christianity* Translated by Thomas Bailey Saunders Introduction by Rudolf Bultmann Fortress Texts in Modern Theology (Philadelphia Fortress Press, 1957 239)]

¹²⁶ Ibid 139 [Engl. Trans 235]

¹²⁷ R. Bultmann, "Mystik im NT," *RGK* 34 (1960), 1243-1246, esp col 1244

¹²⁸ Ibid col 1246

¹²⁹ J Moltmann, *Experiences of God* 55-80, esp 56 "The Theology of Mystical Experience" = "Théologie de l'expérience mystique," *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuse* 59 (1979) 1-18

¹³⁰ On "nouvelle théologie," cf. Hans Kung, *Does God Exist? An Answer for Today* Translated by Edward Quinn (Garden City, NY. Doubleday & Company, 1980) 518-522) A Darlapp, "Nouvelle théologie," *LThL* 7 (1962) 1060-1061, R Garaudy, *Perspectives de l'Homme* (4th ed) (Paris. PUF, 1969), 1123-222, H Rondel, "Nouvelle théologie," *Sacramentum Mundi* [English], 4 (1969) 234-236

articles was decisive for me.... I do not know whether it is to these articles that I owe the fact that my first research was oriented toward the mysticism of Gregory of Nyssa. But I know that the book is permeated with the influence of Myrrha Lot-Borodine."¹³¹ Since research on apophaticism and the mysticism of the Eastern Church is a great achievement of Catholic theologians, a dialogue between Orthodox and Catholic theologians can only be fruitful on this basis: for a common ground, apophaticism is already at hand.

Philosophy.

The fundamental ontology of Martin Heidegger has apophatic characteristics. The place of Heideggerian apophaticism is silence before God and questioning. "Questioning is the piety of thinking",¹³² that does not signify agnosticism, but implies a unique non-theistic apophaticism. Silence before God is a sign of respect before God, namely, a negation of the metaphysical gods for the sake of God. This attitude may not be understood theistically or atheistically, but only metaphysically. It is in this sense that Heidegger's statement is to be interpreted: "There is no Christian philosophy."¹³³ And in the succession of Heidegger, W. Weischedel notes: "The experience of radical questioning is now also the uniquely truthful basic philosophical operation."¹³⁴ Heidegger's intention agrees with the intention of the patristics of the Eastern Church in the sense that "a God who must allow his existence to be proved, is finally a very undivine God and the proving of his existence is quite tantamount to blasphemy."¹³⁵ For this reason the appropriate mode of theology, i.e. discourse about God, is silence. "Someone who has experienced theology in his own roots, both the theology of the Christian faith and that of philosophy, would today rather remain silent about God when he is speaking in the realm of thinking."¹³⁶

¹³¹J. Daniélou, Foreword to M. Lot-Borodine 10

¹³²M. Heidegger, *Vorlesungen und Aufsätze* (Pfullingen: Neske, 1954) 44

¹³³M. Heidegger, *Nietzsche* (Pfullingen: Neske, 1961), vol. I 14

¹³⁴W. Weischedel, Vol. II 200

¹³⁵M. Heidegger, *Nietzsche*, vol. I 366

¹³⁶M. Heidegger, *Identity and Difference* Translated and with an Introduction by Joan Stambaugh (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1969) 54. On the discussion of A. Gouhier, "Néant," *DSp* 11 (1981) 64-80, H. Kung, *Does God Exist?* 491ff., S. Kyriazopoulos, *Prolegomena to the God Question* (Greek) (Athens, 1960) 122ff., N. Nissiotis, *Existentialism and Christian Faith* (Greek) (Athens, 1956) 109-132, W. Weischedel, Vol. I 458ff., C. Yannaras, *De l'absence* 45-75, 88, 99 etc.

Thus one can discover even in Wittgenstein and K. Popper characteristics of a "radical apophaticism"¹³⁷ or of an "apophatic rationalism." "Apophatic rationalism defines the truth without exhausting it, for the truth can never be exhausted in its rational formulation."¹³⁸

Natural Science

In modern physics a peculiar apophaticism becomes apparent, especially in W. Heisenberg and the Copenhagen interpretation of quantum theory. Since we will devote an extensive work to the more precise investigation of this theme, we shall limit ourselves to a few suggestions. In his well known essay, "Zur Geschichte der physikalischen Naturerklärung" (On the History of the physical explanation of Nature) (1932),¹³⁹ W. Heisenberg states: "Almost all progress in natural science is purchased at a loss; for all new knowledge, problems and conceptual formulations important earlier must be sacrificed. With the increase of information and knowledge the claims of the researcher for an 'understanding' of the world in a certain sense diminish. The human observation of nature here points to a close analogy to the individual act of perception which can be conceived, as Fichte does it, as a "self-limitation of the I"(9-10). "For the further the region reaches in disclosing to us physics, chemistry and astronomy, all the more must we take pains to replace the expression 'explanation of nature' by the more modest term 'description of nature'... With every great discovery -and that can be carried out especially in modern physics- the claims of the investigator of nature of an understanding of the world diminish in the original sense"(17).

On the background of the quantum theoretical knowledge Carl Friedrich von Weizsacker writes the lapidary sentence: "Physics is only possible on the background of negative theology,"¹⁴⁰ for the "genuinely real is what

¹³⁷C Yannaras, *Reason and Praxis* (Greek) (Athens Domos, 1984) 219

¹³⁸C Yannaras 279

¹³⁹W Heisenberg, "Zur Geschichte der physikalischen Naturerklärung," *Wandlungen in den Grundlagen der Naturwissenschaft* (Stuttgart: Hirzel, 1980 [11th ed.] 9-25 (Lecture held on the 19th of November 1932), now reprinted in W Heisenberg, *Gesammelte Werke*, Sec C/I, ed. by W Blum, H.-P Durr, H. Rechenberg (Munich Piper, 1984) 50-61. (We cite here the Hirzel edition) Cf M Begzos, *Dialectical Physics and Eschatological Theology The Modern Philosophical Dialogue between Physics and Theology on the Basis of the Works of W Heisenberg* (Diss Greek)(Athens, 1985) 109ff Cf N Bohr, *Physique atomique et connaissance humaine* (Paris: Gonthier, 1961), 22f.

¹⁴⁰C. F. von Weizsacker, *The Unity of Nature*. Translated by Francis J Zucker (New York: Farrar, Straus and Ciroux, Inc., 1980) 255

cannot be thought conceptually.”¹⁴¹ In consequence of this epistemology he describes the circle of modern rationality as an “irrational dynamic of rationality”¹⁴² and emphasizes: “The recognition of a meditative or mystical experience of unity is not an escape from rationality, but, assuming we have argued correctly, a consequence of the understanding of the nature of rationality.”¹⁴³

Psychology

It is especially in Erich Fromm that apophaticism wins an extraordinary relevance. Fromm speaks not only of “negative theology,” but also of “negative psychology.”¹⁴⁴ In his works “Ihr werdet sein wie Gott”(1966) and “Einige post-marxische und post-freudsche Gedanken über Religion und Religiosität”(1972)¹⁴⁵ he explains the significance of negative theology. According to Fromm Jewish theology is a negative theology: “The confession of God is basically the negation of idols”(VI, 108). Apophaticism signifies neither atheism nor agnosticism: “The worship of God is above all the negation of the service to idols” (IV, 120). The basis of apophaticism is freedom: “In ‘negative theology,’ as in mysticism, we find the same revolutionary spirit of freedom which characterized the God of revolution against Egypt” (VI, 121). Apophaticism played an enormously important role in Marx who according to Fromm is an “atheistic-religious thinker” (VI, 293), and accordingly he calls Marx the “most thorough-going representative of negative theology” (VI, 294). Something similar happens vis-a-vis Freud, although it becomes apparent in a quite different and indirect way: “With this critique of consciousness – it appears to me – Freud contributed to the understanding of negative philosophy in the philosophy of religion, as well as to the concept of God in mysticism, even if in a very indirect way”(VI,

¹⁴¹Ibid

¹⁴²C F Weizsacker, *Der Garten des Menschlichen Beiträge zur geschichtlichen Anthropologie* [6th ed.] (Munich Hanser, 1978) 529

¹⁴³C F Weizsacker, *Unity of Nature* 391 In respect to scientific theory (Th Kuhn, I Lakatos, P Feyerabend et al), cf C Yannaras, *Reason and Praxis* (Greek) 233ff and esp 256 On the theme of “mysticism and physics,” cf F Capra, *The Tao of Physics* (London Fontana/Collins, 1976), idem , *The Turning Point* (New York Simon and Schuster, 1982), R Jung, “Die neue Gnosis,” *Jenseits der Erkenntnis* Ed by L Reinisch (Frankfurt Suhrkamp, 1977) 123-136, A R Peacocke, *Creation and the World of Science* (Oxford Clarendon, 1979) esp 360-363, R Ruyer, *La gnose de Princeton* (Paris Fayard, 1976), B Russell, *Religion and Science* (London Oxford, 1975 [3rd ed , orig 1935]) 171-189

¹⁴⁴E Fromm, *Haben oder Sein* [6th ed.] (Munich DTV, 1980) esp 48f, 88f

¹⁴⁵E Fromm, *Gesamtausgabe* Ed by R Funk, Vol IV Religion (Stuttgart Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1980), esp 83-226, 293-299

295). Fromm correctly explains the connection between mysticism as unity of experience and apophaticism as the rejection of idolatry: "Despite all the differences between negative theology and mysticism, a commonality nevertheless manifests itself: the rejection of conceiving of God in the categories of thought" (VI, 295). Fromm's analysis of humility in the ascetic tradition with the help of Freudian analysis (VI, 296ff.) is significant. His results are stated as follows: "The radical critique of society and of religion has a religious function; it is the unmasking of idols and therewith the setting of the conditions of genuine religiosity. The disclosure of idols and struggle with them is the common bond which unites Christian and non-theistic religious men, or as I think, should unite them" (VI, 299).

Politics

In neo-Marxist circles and especially in the Frankfurt School apophatic traits are evident. The Catholic theologian J. Hochstaffl attempted to establish contact between patristic negative theology and modern negative dialectic. His thesis is this: "Negative theology and negative dialectic mutually illumine each other."¹⁴⁶ Max Horkheimer states: "We cannot prove the existence of God."¹⁴⁷ And he supplies the following explanation: "Knowledge about the loneliness of man is only possible through thoughts of God, but not through the absolute certainty of God" (57). He understands the knowledge of God as the longing for the wholly other: "whereas for me the main thing remains that God cannot be represented, but that this Non-representable is the object of our longing" (77). Theology and politics can be connected "because behind all genuine human activity stands theology" (60). His result is that "politics which, if highly unreflected, does not preserve theology in itself, remains, however skilled it may be, the ultimate final business" (60). And a world-renowned representative of neo-Marxism, Roger Garaudy, states: "A theology of revolution cannot be

¹⁴⁶J. Hochstaffl 12. Johann Baptist Metz writes in the Foreword to J. Hochstaffl's *Negative Theology* 10: "Negative theology which undertakes the critique of "negative dialectic" by systematic knowledge and likewise does not become resigned in face of the experience of the principal incompleteness of history, is transformed into a theology of history which in the definite memory of the *mysterium factum paschale* does not practice the expository style of any historical dialectic, but, with respect to the experienced negativity of historical life, ever redeems the question according to its total meaning "

¹⁴⁷M. Horkheimer, *Die Sehnsucht nach dem ganz Anderen* (Hamburg: Furche, 1947) 56f. On the political significance of apophaticism cf. C. Yannaras, *Reason and Praxis* (Greek) 194, 277ff. 312f.

a dogmatic theology, but only a negative theology.”¹⁴⁸ The apophatic features of modern secular modes of thinking in the areas mentioned above can of course not be accepted without some critical reluctance. But in this essay we have to be content with a few suggestions.

Apophaticism as Theology of Freedom

We summarize our thoughts on the apophaticism of the Eastern Church as follows:

1) Apophaticism means an epistemological reserve with respect to truth. Truth cannot be exhausted in rigid concepts. Definitions, whether positive or negative, are at best only approximations; they have limited validity, and becoming aware of these limitations constitutes the authentic core of apophaticism.

2) Apophaticism is not a purely theoretical affair; it is not a “value-free” attitude, but an attitude conditioned by interest. The singular interest of apophaticism is freedom and openness. With apophaticism the crucial step is completed from the sphere of necessity to the sphere of freedom. Thanks to apophaticism, theology never becomes idolatry, or ideology.

3) With apophaticism the theology of the Eastern Church can make a very important contribution to contemporary theory of science. Apophaticism denies all possessive knowledge and implies a participatory search for truth. In this way natural science and technology can bring under control its destructive effects on the environment and humanity. With apophaticism there is already the possibility of a course-correction of the modern world view of natural science.

4) If the technocracy and bureaucracy of modern political ideologies is traced back to the torpidity of its theoretical principles and the so-called “compulsoriness” of its practical application, then one can see in apophaticism a hopeful possibility for overcoming both phenomena. For apophaticism in political praxis always means a dispensing with ultimate formulas, an openness to reality and freedom over against systems, conceptions and final theories or dogmas. The welfare state and the social state must be actualized apophatically. Personal freedom should not be bought at the expense of social justice, and vice versa. Economy should find its limits in ecology. Progress can only be realized through absten-

¹⁴⁸H. Garaudy, *Appel aux vivants* (Paris: Seuil, 1979) 304. Cf. N. Berdyaev, *De l'esclavage et de la liberté de l'homme* (Paris: Aubier, 1963) 77. “It is important to construct an apophatic sociology by analogy with apophatic theology.”

tion,¹⁴⁹ i. e. apophatically, otherwise it becomes murderous.

5) If suffering is the rock of atheism (theodicy question),¹⁵⁰ then apophaticism is the necessary presupposition of the Christian faith. God can be experienced in negativity, and God can be spoken of in the language of negatives. Apophaticism denies all negative theology which operates with negative attributes of God, and implies a theology of suffering and passion. Out of passion for the truth God can be approached apophatically, i.e., with the self-restriction of one's own ego, hesitatingly and with humility. Apophaticism is the freedom of theology over against all fixed conceptual necessity. As the freedom of theology, apophaticism is the theology of freedom. It remains vitally important for us today.

Translated by
Harold H. Oliver

¹⁴⁹J Moltmann, *God in Creation. A New Theology of Creation and the Spirit of God* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1985) 29. "Progress itself seems to be caught up in a vicious circle, in which it ministers to death, not life." Cf. F. Cramer, *Fortschritt durch Verzicht* (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1978) 13. "The world has evolved. It has evolved through progress--but progress is only possible through sacrifice and abstention." Cf. also *The Limits to Growth*. Ed by D. H. Meadows et al. [2nd ed.] (New York: Signet, 1975), I. Illich, *Energy and Equity* (London: Calder/Boyars, 1974), E. F. Schumacher, *Small is Beautiful* [1973] (London: Abacus, 1980)

¹⁵⁰J Moltmann, *The Trinity and the Kingdom* 48. "Suffering is the rock of atheism"

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Bilateral Theological Dialogues: An Orthodox Assessment

METHODIOS G. FOUYAS

The late Protopresbyter Professor Georges Florovsky, whose memory we honor in this Conference, often spoke of the debt of Christianity to Hellenism. In his study on *Christianity and Civilization* he wrote that "one should describe Origen and Augustine as Hellenists." In several other places in his speeches¹ and writings, Fr. Florovsky wrote of his deep appreciation of the Hellenic spirit in the context of the presentation and communication of the Christian faith.² It is because I share the same conviction with Fr. Florovsky about Hellenism that I would like to start my paper on Bilateral Dialogues among Christians with some important insights concerning the term *theological dialogue* and its important component, the term *logos*, as they emerge from the original Greek sources from which these terms were taken.

Whenever we bring together *theo-logy* or *dia-logue*, our mind grasps the reality of the original connection between our existence and the ultimate divine principle of existence, or the reality of our desire to reach the Truth. In ancient Greek thought the terms *theo-logy* and *dia-logos* were indissolubly connected through the notion of *logos*. Indeed *logos* was the perennial, typical and dominant force of all Greek thinking. To appreciate this, one needs to realize that there is no equivalent word to the Greek *logos* in other languages throughout the world, although speech as expression of *logos* is a fundamental aspect of all human activity. Another way of appreciating the Greek tradition of *logos* is to compare it to the Latin tradition of *res*. This comparison has led scholars to conclude time and again

¹ At the Third Oxford International Conference on Patristic Studies (1963) I witnessed Florovsky's conspicuous declaration, "In a sense as Christians we are all Greeks."

² See his two studies: "Faith and Culture" and "Christianity and Civilization" Collected Works II 9-30, 121-130.

that whereas the Greeks, focusing on *logos*, turned to theory and theoretical science, the Latins, focusing on the term *res*, gave priority to the practical aspects of life. Only few would doubt the priority of the former over the latter as far as the well-being of humanity is concerned.

The ancient Greeks actually deified *logos*, since, as Plato says, it was recognized as one of the ultimate principles of existence and a most important instrument of human communication.³ They acknowledged, however, that it could be used ambiguously and thus prove to be not only a blessing but a curse. It could be a "highest good" (μέγιστον ἀγαθόν) and a "cause of freedom" (αἴτιον ἐλευθερίας), if and when it is used realistically and naturally; but it could also become "a cause of disaster" (ὀλέθριον), if and when it becomes separated from its natural coordinate: logic. Aeschylus described false *logos* (πλαστοὺς λόγους) as a "most shameful sickness" (αἰσχροτάτη ἀσθένεια).⁴ Likewise Euripides attacked indolent *logos* (χαύνους λόγους) as a means of throwing the human city into sleep.⁵ For this reason Plato exalted the connection between *logos* and truth when he said that no true art of *logos* can exist without the truth (τοῦ δὲ λέγειν ἔτυμος τέχνη ἄνευ τοῦ ἀληθείας ἥφθαι, οὐτ' ἐστὶν οὔτε μήποτε ὕστερον γενήσεται),⁶ Here, then, is an original insight on *logos* which should serve as criterion for judging the statements and thoughts of the participants in the bilateral theological dialogues of the churches. We must always ask ourselves whether in our dialogue with our fellow Christians we and/or they are determined to speak and promote a *logos* of truth, which is not designed to please one another, but to recover or discover the will of God. As long as we are prepared in all honesty to acknowledge this, we can be sure that the dialogue will yield the right fruit and become for us a true blessing.

Another original insight on *logos* is that it signifies freedom, when it is taken as a bridge for *dia-logos* and *anti-logos*. *Dia-logos* was the foundation stone of Greek thought and action which led to the development of the classical democratic tradition. This use of *logos* establishes a bridge of conciliation because it has to do with, "what is right to be said, or not to be said, to be done, or to be omitted at the right time" (τὸ δέον ἐνῶ δέοντι καὶ λέγειν καὶ ποιεῖν καὶ ἔαν).⁷ It is in this sense that Sophocles expressed his sorrow for not saying things that please, but things which are necessary to be said (εἰ δὲ μὴ λέγω φίλα, οὐχ ἡδομαι, τὸ δ' ὀρθόν

³ Gorgias 452D.

⁴ Prometheus 685.

⁵ Frag. 53a.

⁶ Phaidros, 260E.

⁷ Gorgias, Epitaph, frag. 6.

ἐξείρηχ' ὅμως).⁸ Isocrates too, another one of our great Greek ancestors, pointed out that “words which seek the truth are more important and profound than those which are designed to seduce the thought of the listener. The same applies to words which are said to censure mistakes and to admonish, as opposed to those which are said to please and to amuse” (τῶν ἄλλων σπουδαιότερους καὶ φιλοσοφικωτέρους εἶναι (λόγους)...τοὺς τῆς ἀληθείας στοχαζομένους, τῶν τὰς δόξας τῶν ἀκροωμένων παρακρούεσθαι ζητούντων, καὶ τοὺς ἐπιπλήττοντας τοῖς ἀμαρτανομένοις καὶ νοουθετούντας, τῶν πρὸς ἡδονὴν καὶ χάριν λεγομένων).⁹ Dialogue, then, uses *logos* with freedom, discrimination and soberness and is therefore a tool of reconstruction, conciliation and bridge-building.

These fundamental insights on the right use of *logos* as a means for communicating the truth draws our attention to the transition of *logos* from a state of monologue to a state of dialogue. Dialogue was used extensively in all kinds of speech among the ancient Greeks and continues to be similarly used to this day.

The first Greek to use dialogue was Zeno of Elea. He was followed by Anaximenes, the Sophists and Socrates, the greatest of them all. Socrates employed dialogue as a means for searching after the truth and communicating conceptions of truth, i. e., ideas. He was immortalized for this by his most famous pupil, Plato, who became master of dialogue *par excellence*. Plato's dialogues, driven by a thirst for discovering truth and a missionary zeal for communicating it to others, have become models for all dialogues. As said earlier, dialogue has to do with discovering the truth and participating in it. This last point is the essence of true discussion. In turn, discussion in truth leads to the development of friendship and brotherhood amongst the discussants and to resolution of mutual problems. When, however, discussion does not envisage the truth, no lasting or beneficial result is achieved. Unfortunately, this seems to be often the case with many of our contemporary bilateral dialogues. The crucial question for the discussants in this connection is whether they endeavor to discover the truth, or persuade each other that they are possessors of it.

In the Early Church dialogues were concerned mainly with teaching the truth, as contrasted to investigating its content. This is clearly demonstrated in the early Christian dialogues which were all written in Greek. As examples, we may mention the *Dialogue of the Redeemer*, a second or third century work which involves Jesus Christ and his disciples, the *Testament of our Lord*, a fifth century work, or the famous *Dialogue with Trypho* of

⁸ Trachiniae 373.

⁹ Panathenaikos 271.

Justin the philosopher and martyr. Here, too, we may recall Clement of Alexandria whose entire teaching constituted a sort of dialogue between Christianity and Hellenism.

Contemporary Christian dialogues do not take their cue from these earlier ones, because they are not concerned with communicating the truth but represent at best an attempt to rediscover it and, at worst, to reach a compromise on it. They are conducted on equal terms as they presuppose the integrity of all the parties involved, yet the fact is that the existence of such parties is due to a deviation from the truth! What is forgotten in this case is that the truth is not negotiable.

Orthodox participants in contemporary inter-church discussions have a duty to declare the truth and avoid falling into the same trap. They are called to bear witness to the catholic faith and not to be diplomats or “academic” theologians. It is unacceptable for the Orthodox to assume the Anglican standpoint of Dr. Runcie which allows for the “violation” of Holy Scripture and Holy Tradition. What credibility could and Anglican-Orthodox bilateral dialogue have when one of the Bishops of the church of England openly denies the virginal birth of Christ and His resurrection?

There are clergyman and theologians from every side who think that a dialogue is beneficial *per se* and should not be simply assessed on the basis of its results, achievements or failures. Our experience, however, from our long-term involvement in several inter-church bilateral and multilateral dialogues has persuaded us that the restoration of the unity of divided Christendom cannot be achieved when the “divided churches” are reluctant to confess their transgression in matter of faith and order.

The Orthodox Church has both the privilege and the obligation to keep unaltered her tradition, especially as this expressed in its Greek sources, not only because this tradition is, in the last analysis directly and strictly linked with the authentic Holy Tradition of the undivided and ecumenical Christendom, but also because it is Greek sources that have shaped the traditions of other Christian churches. The importance of the Greek sources for Orthodoxy has been repeatedly stressed by non-Greek theologians who have distinguished themselves as eminent scholars of universal repute. The later Dr. Nicholas Zernov, the well known Russian Orthodox theologian who taught about Orthodoxy at Oxford, wrote that:

No other language (apart from the Greek) could have served this purpose so well, for it was able to express philosophical concepts with a vigor and subtlety unattainable elsewhere. The Hellenized world also helped the

Church to see the unity of mankind, and the fundamental similarity of men's intellectual and spiritual problems. From the Greek philosophers and writers the Church learned the art of logical thinking and scientific speculation.¹⁰

The distinguished Patristic scholar, Professor G. L. Prestige, echoing many others, wrote as follows: "I venture to claim to have shown that a large part of what are sometimes called Christian doctrines and many usages which have prevailed and continue to prevail in the Christian Church, are in reality Greek theories and Greek usages."¹¹

From our experience we can say that the Orthodox Church participates in inter-church bilateral theological dialogues in faithful response to the commandment of the Lord to teach the truth to all without counting the cost. Indeed the Church is always ready to become even a sacrificial victim in her determination not to use the weapons of this world but to bear witness to the reality of the world to come. It is true that some Orthodox members often exhibit an anxious fervor to reach quick agreement between the Orthodox and the other Churches. Their behavior is due to their sincere response, on the one hand to the command of the Lord that they fulfill their divinely given mission and on the other hand to pressures of circumstances. One should not forget, however, that bilateral theological dialogues are not as novel as they appear, for they have always been present in the history of the Church.

The dimension of bilateral dialogues, if I may so call it, has been sustained for centuries through exchanges of correspondence among church leaders and theologians, church messages or statements of a wider intention and synodical decisions pertaining to matters of inter-church relations. Here one must also think of past disputes between church leaders and theologians which are a form of dialogue irrespective of whether they do or do not have an official character. Furthermore, one may think of different editorial policies promoted in ecclesiastical newspapers, or of exchanges of theological opinions in the various reviews which can sometimes be so effective as to overthrow official agreements of bilateral theological dialogues. No Orthodox underestimates such aspects in the dimension of bilateral dialogues because these are important means, in the Orthodox Church at least, for verifying the Tradition of the Church. These means offer the faithful, who are recognized as guardians of Orthodoxy, the chance to react to and reprieve questionable official church negotiations. It is important, then, to remember that bilateral theological dialogues belong to a dimension of dialogue which is long-standing and multifaceted, and which

¹⁰ *Eastern Christendom* (London 1961) 22.

¹¹ *God in Patristic Thought* xiii.

has served to maintain some sort of working coherence in the Christian world.

The dimension of bilateral dialogues has also been sustained by the establishment of special instruments or institutions which promote theological dialogue in general. Here we can think of various Christian societies, such as: the International Missionary Council, the World Student Christian Federation, the Young Men's/Women's Christian Association, Faith and Order, the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches, Life and Work and, last but not least, the World Council of Churches. Although this last institution is perhaps more widely known than all the others, probably because of its grant programs for promoting church relations, it must be said that regrettably it has contributed precious little to the doctrinal rapprochement of other Christians to the Orthodox Church. This is because it has essentially remained a political and social institution with a Christian color, whose intention is to create a Christian movement without restrictions of ecclesiastical principles. Indeed its very existence seems to depend on 'colorless' Christians, if we may so call them or Christian groups which have nothing to do with the Christian sacramental way of life. Nor could one point to the work of the Faith and Order Commission of the WCC in order to contradict the above assessment. In spite of having been in existence for a long time and having sponsored regular inter-church meetings and conferences, Faith and Order has not achieved anything substantial. From the Orthodox point of view the contribution of Faith and Order is rather a negative one, inasmuch as it has diversified certain Orthodox theologians from their own tradition through adoption of questionable western theological method and through study or teaching in western theological institutions. Whatever the exact role of the WCC and its various sections may be, it is a fact that bilateral dialogues are greatly affected by its policies.

Returning to the official bilateral dialogues, we observe another paradox which has serious repercussions on their character and etiquette. This paradox has to do with the fact that many of the representatives of various participating churches express views which are not necessarily beliefs of their church associates, although they may or may not be in agreement with policy directions from their church headquarters. Thus, common agreements and statements made by bilateral commissions are often proved to be of very little, if any, value, for they cannot be implemented in any practical or positive way. This points to a useless waste of time and resources and, more importantly, has a very negative and demoralizing effect. There

is a real failure, then, in bilateral dialogues since no practical and concrete ecclesiastical results can be reached. Even the Orthodox are not exempted from such a paradox, which becomes more apparent in Pan-Orthodox conferences.

The reason for achieving bilateral agreements between the Orthodox East and the churches of the West, which, in the last analysis, constitute failures, lies in the fact that both East and West find their meeting point in their common Hellenic background as opposed to the divergence in their appropriation of Christianity. In other words, whereas both the Orthodox East and the Roman Catholic and Protestant West have utilized the long lasting perennial legacy of the Hellenic civilization, admittedly to a varied extent, the former seems to have followed its theoretical stance and advanced beyond it to the higher level of Christian revelation, while the latter has followed its practical dictates to the extent that the Christianity was chained by it. For example, Hellenism led the Eastern Church to develop a distinctive ethos of freedom of spirit which rises even above the exigencies of history; whereas St. Augustine's utilization of the Hellenic perspective in his *De Civitate Dei* helped the Church of Rome to establish a world hegemony. Thus, Orthodoxy is characterized by its attachment to Christian spirituality, which is the eternal charisma of the Gospel; whereas Western Christianity in its dual form, Roman Catholic and Protestant, is characterized by institutionalism and attachment to temporal power.

The way Christianity has been wedded to Hellenism in the West as I see it in the two most conspicuous cases, that of Augustine of Hippo and that of Thomas Aquinas, has had two effects on the dialogue between the Churches of the West and Orthodoxy, one positive and one negative. The positive effect is the readiness of the Western Christians to turn to Orthodoxy because of its Hellenic connection. The negative effect is the failure of the Western Christians to understand the Orthodox appropriation of Hellenism which implies its transformation and transcendence. This last point is extremely important and Orthodox have a special responsibility to put it as clearly as possible to their Western partners in dialogue lest rationalism and worldiness overcome spirituality.

Apart from the diversification of Orthodoxy and the West with regard to the appropriation of Hellenism, perhaps the most serious obstacle to real progress in bilateral theological dialogues is the determination of both sides to retain their historical peculiarities and to promote their own distinctive stances. We could mention here the divisive legacy of the Crusades and the creation of Uniatism, which continue to bedevil Orthodox-Roman Catho-

lic bilateral relations and discussions, or the continuing encroachment of Protestant proselytism in Orthodox ecclesiastical contexts which renders the rapprochement of some Protestant families to Orthodoxy obsolete.¹²

Is it not a mistake on the part of the Orthodox to enter into dialogue with Roman Catholics and Protestants without previous agreement of terms or presuppositions of rapprochement? In other words, should there not be previous agreement on recognizing the unacceptability and restricting the operation of Uniatism and Proselytism in the dialogue of Orthodoxy and the West? Do not Orthodox run the risk of being theologically diluted or ecclesiastically absorbed by the Western Churches in Europe and in the world at large? Again, should not the Orthodox insist on mutual recognition of norms and standards to which appeal can be made in the course of dialogues? How could the Orthodox have a meaningful and fruitful dialogue with churches which do not recognize the authority of the Apostolic Tradition?

It is a distinctive privilege and a bounding duty for Orthodox to retain their attachment to the authentic traditions of Christianity without making any direct or indirect compromises. This is a duty because it has soteriological implications not only for them but for their partners in dialogue, as well as for the whole of humanity. Yet it must be admitted that the adoption of such a stance has repeatedly led to the crucifixion of Orthodoxy by its heterodox counterparts. The sufferings of Orthodoxy, which is the bearer of God's blessing to humanity, in the hands of its would-be allies, constitute a despicable drama and a totally unjust tragedy.

The above-mentioned incredible phenomenon is caused by the prevailing condition of the churches in the contemporary world. The Western Churches are much stronger than the Orthodox as far as material and external resources are concerned. Their financial and political superiority, which is rooted in their alignment with the political powers of our times, has a direct influence on the course, character and content of their theological dialogue with Orthodoxy. Thus, Protestants, committed to an unbridled and triumphant pluralism, are oblivious to Orthodox sensitivity concerning the unity of the Church in dogma and sacramental communion, as well as anxiety about heterodox proselytism operating indiscriminately in their midst. Roman Catholics, committed to a monolithic and self-glorifying totalitarianism, display a merciless arrogance towards the suffering Orthodox whom they consistently attempt to exploit

¹² See my comments in my second lecture delivered on 13 February 1992 at the University of California, Berkeley, on "Orthodox and the West," *Ecclesia and Theologia* 11 (1992) 323-362.

in their trying conditions.

All the above point to the necessity of laying down terms and preconditions for all bilateral dialogues between Orthodoxy and the Western churches. It is imperative that Orthodox theologians should review this matter and produce clear guidelines for each case. Indeed, each case needs to be renegotiated and to be placed on a different footing. This, however, can only be done if Pan-Orthodox policy agreement is reached. Yet this is not an easy task to undertake and, therefore, special determination should be exhibited so that all Orthodox realize the gravity of the whole issue.

The only exception to the above rule is the bilateral dialogue between the Eastern and the Oriental Orthodox churches. The results which this dialogue have yielded so far bear ample testimony to its exceptional character. In spite of their historical diversification, the Orientals are in essence an integral part of Eastern Orthodox Christianity, sharing the same ethos and Tradition with all Orthodox. The old verdict of St. John Damascene speaks of this most eloquently: "They (Oriental Orthodox) separated themselves from the Church on account of the Synod of Chalcedon, although in everything else they are Orthodox" (προφάσει τῆς ἐν Χαλκηδόνι Συνόδου ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἀποσχίσαντες, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα Ὁρθόδοξοι ὑπάρχοντες).¹³ Equally eloquent is the recent statement of the bilateral dialogue of Easterners and Orientals: "Both families have always loyally maintained the same authentic Orthodox Christological Faith and the unbroken continuity of the Apostolic Tradition, though they may have used Christological terms in different ways. It is this common faith and continuous loyalty to the Apostolic Tradition that should be the basis of our unity and communion".¹⁴ Clearly this dialogue is of paramount importance and should be supported as a matter of urgency.

In conclusion, we wish to express, in spite of our above criticisms, our confidence in the future of Orthodox ecumenical activity, as long as regional differences or interests are transcended and the Orthodox remain unanimous concerning their traditional faith and values. One of the best statements of this very point was made by Sir Steven Runciman during my tenure as Archbishop of Thyateira and Great Britain and we may recall here as a most fitting epilogue to our present thoughts: "The Orthodox Church has not yet abandoned itself to an orgy of modernism; and I hope that it never will...I sometimes think that in a century's time the only great Christian Church to survive will be the Orthodox, because it has not submerged itself in transient fashions. It is, therefore, of value to us in this

¹³ *On Heresies* 83, PG 94:741.

¹⁴ "Second Agreed Statement and Recommendations to the Churches," *Texts and Studies*, 8-10 (1989-91) 240.

country to have amongst us a Church which has not abandoned its traditions and its age-long standards and all-the-same lives on and in which God's grace will live on to fulfill the needs of its people."¹⁵

¹⁵ "The Orthodox Church: Its role in Great Britain," *The Greek Review International* 32 (1983) 12.

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Sean McDonagh, *Passion for the Earth*. Maryknoll NY: Orbis Books, 1994, 164 pages.

Fr. McDonagh is not new to the scenes of either ecological thinking or ecological action. An Irish Columban missionary who worked for twenty years in the Philippines, he has written masterfully and prophetically about the roots of our environmental devastation.

This book is passionate: it addresses our global crisis with a penetrating and positive analysis of the world's economic system from the profound perspective of the Catholic tradition. For me, this is *Roman Catholic theology* at its best: wisely confronting contemporary issues with the authority and clarity of a tradition that has learned to grapple with ethical and social questions through the ages.

McDonagh reminds readers of the Christian vocation to promote "justice, peace, and the integrity of creation," a phrase coined in ecumenical circles and suitably defining our predicament.

The early chapters of this book cover crucial themes such as unequal trading, world finance and local debt. The concluding chapters articulate an optimistic response of "prophecy" (ch. 6, pp. 103-123), "hope" (ch. 7, pp. 124-146), and "ministry" (ch. 8, pp. 147-161).

As in his earlier books, *The Greening of the Church* (1990) and *To Care for the Earth* (1987), McDonagh concludes with the link between environment and prayer. This book closes with a prayer by St. Basil. A fitting conclusion for a man who is a priest and the chairperson of Greenpeace, Ireland.

Max Oelschlaeger, *Caring for Creation. An Ecumenical Approach to the Environmental Crisis*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1994, 285 pages.

Max Oelschlaeger is Professor of Philosophy and Religious Studies at the University of North Texas. His previous book, also published by Yale University Press (1991) was entitled *The Idea of Wilderness: From Prehistory to the Age of Ecology*. It is a fascinating analysis of the condition of wilderness and the concept of nature through the history of civilization.

Caring for Creation argues that religion has an indispensable role to play in solving the global ecological crisis. It examines a broad range of religious traditions – almost exclusively Western – from Catholic to conservative Christianity, and from Judaism to Goddess feminism.

The author shows that religion, although often challenged and blamed as the cause of much of our ecological problems, provides an ethical context that will help people become more sensitive to the environment and elect leaders – in society, state, education, and church – who are genuinely responsive to and responsible for environmental awareness.

This is truly an interdisciplinary book – and herein lies the justification of the term “ecumenical” in the title – that draws together literary-critical, philosophical, religious, and ecological materials and appeals, to ecophilosophers, scientists, environmentalists, politicians, sociologists, economists, political scientists, clergy and laypersons.

Oelschlaeger calls for “imagination” and “open-endedness of language” (p. 237) so that, together, conservative and liberal alike will realize the powerful religious metaphor in caring for creation. Religious discourse – or “narrative”, as he calls it (pp. 84-117) – may be the best, or last chance: “there are no solutions for the systemic causes of ecocrisis, at least in democratic societies, apart from religious narrative” (p. 5).

“This book is not a prophesy that believers will be successful, but a conjecture that they not only might but have already begun to develop religiously inspired environmental ethics” (p. 51).

Clearly, religion alone is not the solution, but the role of religion must be recognized and *realized* (in the sense of acted upon) if we are to escape the crisis we have created. This is because, as the author believes, religion is singularly suited to correct our society and redirect our economy (cf. pp. 84-117) in ways that affirm rather than threaten life. The biblical tradition offers a second chance, or a second language, as well as an organizational structure that can challenge our utilitarian ethics and individualism (see esp. ch. 4).

Religion generally – or “ecumenically” as Oelschlaeger would have it – is able to respond to our ecological dysfunction. Too much energy is spent either blaming religions or arguing for one religion as the right solution (cf. pp. 184f.). He is correct in one thing: that our response to the crisis we confront will only prove effective if made collectively and not individually, universally and not exclusively, ecumenically and not in isolation from one another – whether in terms of ecclesiastical affiliation or professional discipline.

For, the power of each individual discipline is great, and the effect of our many efforts is undoubtedly profound; but only together, only collectively do we have the ability to solve the problems of the earth that we share, when we act with the invincible power of one.

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Book Reviews

BOOKS ON ECOLOGY

REVIEWED BY JOHN CHRYSSAVGIS

C. Bamford and W. P. Marsh (eds.), *Celtic Christianity: Ecology and Holiness*. Hudson NY: Lindisfarne Press, 1987, 143 pages.

This anthology of Celtic texts first appeared in 1982 and presents the uniquely refreshing richness of this important strand in the Christian tradition. We do not know how Christianity first arrived at these westernmost reaches, but it always bore a deeply earthly and a profoundly heavenly quality. The Celts understood that Christ's incarnation was a healing that made possible a reconciliation of humanity and nature in God.

The "ecology" of this holy tradition is well summed up in the words of St. Patrick: "Our God is the God of heaven and earth, of sea and river, of sun and moon and stars, of the lofty mountain and lowly valley" (p.19).

This anthology includes poems and stories, *Lives* and history, homilies and songs. There are well-known saints like Patrick and Columba, and lesser-known figures (at least for me) like Findian and Senan. The book is enriched by a useful bibliography, as well as an enlightening introduction (by C. Bamford) on the heritage of Celtic Christianity (pp. 9-35). Bamford explores the many legends of the British Church, and "suggests that Celtic tradition experienced a continuity in cosmic process, that extended from its inception, Creation, to its conclusion, Deification" (p. 12).

Anyone who has known or loved the Celtic saints, or visited their holy isles, will enjoy the manifold treasures of this book. The saying is attributed to Columba: "Behold Iona! A blessing on each eye that seeth it!" (p. 104).

Leonardo Boff, *Ecology and Liberation: A New Paradigm*. Maryknoll NY: Orbis Books, 1995, 187 pages.

The theology of Leonardo Boff has been liberating in many ways. One of the most renowned theologians of our time, Boff uses both contemporary science and the mystical tradition to critique modern approaches to ecology. He analyzes conservationism and environmentalism alike, arguing that these fundamentally "middle class" approaches fail to scrutinize the systematic causes of ecological devastation and particularly their impact on the poor of the world.

For those who naively dismiss liberation theology as an offshoot of Marxism, Boff is critical alike of the failures of state socialism (ch. 4, pp. 93-108) and of the triumph of capitalism (ch. 6, pp. 123-130). This book is a provocative introduction to a holistic and integrated theology. There is also a "radical", as Boff describes it, development of "the balance between sexuality and spirituality" (ch. 9, pp. 163-179), where the author calls us to "be in sympathy and alignment with the summons issued by reality as a whole" (p. 179). The book concludes on a note of "expectancy" (p. 180), as the people of God, the poor of the world, await the coming of Jesus Christ – their only true source of hope and joy and life.

Yet it is not so much the words of Leonardo Boff that alone are inspiring. It is predominantly his *silence*. It is this depth of silence that allows him to identify with Francis of Assisi (pp. 52-54) and to draw from the well of "mystery and mysticism" (ch. 8, pp. 139-162).

Michael Cromartie (ed.), *Creation at Risk? Religion, Science, and Environment*. Grand Rapids MI: W. Eerdmans, 1995, 166 pages.

One of the major difficulties in the exchange in dialogue between faith and science is the unwillingness sometimes on both sides to listen. Thus on an issue such as environmentalism, theological discourse can often remain too theoretical, while scientific information frequently proves too technical. The problem becomes still more profound when theologians fail to affect the general lifestyles of society, while scientists fail to agree about the meaning of the available data.

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The second section deals with the difficult issue of "economy" (οἰκονομία) in relation to precision (ἀκρίβεια) from a sacramental and canonical aspect, although the emphasis is less on the latter. The author is more concerned with discerning fundamental and clear methodical principles (cf. esp. pp. 195-203) as a basis for the discussion of prickly, almost prejudiced issues in the dialogue between Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism. This book is a confident response to current ecclesiological and ecumenical questions, that is both *consistent* with the Orthodox Patristic tradition (pp. 146-184) and *compassionate* in terms of an open spirit of love, especially in the analysis of the thorny problem of Uniatism (pp. 36-43), as well as the crucial matter of the reception of non-Orthodox into the Orthodox Church (pp. 185-94). The overriding theme of this book, as succinctly expressed in the introduction (pp. 18-19), is "ἀκρίβεια where it is necessary, οἰκονομία where it is called for."

This is an important voice from the center of Orthodoxy that provides the theological background to the numerous ecumenical endeavors of the Ecumenical Patriarchate throughout the centuries and especially in recent times. It also constitutes the firm ground for ongoing theological dialogue between the Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches.

Finally, a word should be said about the attractive publication of this work, which is one of the first fruits of a new publishing house in Greece, "Epektasis." The director, Yannis Papachronis, has in a matter of only two years produced an impressive array of books (over 40 of them) in areas ranging from Patristic sources, significant ecclesiastical issues and events, ascetic spirituality and hagiology, contemporary issues (such as a book on the ordination of women, which we hope to review) and liturgical themes. It is surely one of the more promising ventures of recent publishing in Greece.

John Chrysavgis

Aloys Grillmeier with Theresia Hainthaler, *Christ in Christian Tradition: The Church of Constantinople in the Sixth Century*, Vol. II, Pt. 2. Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1995, pp. 565.

The scholar of Byzantine history, Christology, ecclesiology or ecumenism will be happy to see this third book of the author's monumen-

tal research become available in English. This section of the history from Chalcedon (451) to Gregory the Great (590-604), concentrates on the Byzantine capital, with a third part of this volume to concentrate on the patriarchates of Jerusalem and Antioch, Armenia and Georgia and the Church of Persia, and a fourth focusing on Alexandria, Nubia and Ethiopia. In addition to these parts, already available in German, there will be a third volume on the West.

This great research project is oriented not only to the careful scientific exploration of the sources, theological arguments and faith of the Church, but it is also meant to serve an ecumenical purpose, exploring the differences and compatibilities of the Christologies of these churches, divided these many centuries. In this respect, the evaluation of Justinian's strategy and theology, and the Fifth Ecumenical Council, Constantinople 553, are of particular importance. For this reason, it provides an invaluable resource to those following the reconciliation of Oriental and Byzantine Orthodox and Roman Catholic churches in our own day. As the author notes, in reviewing the massive literature of the period, in retrospect, and especially in light of the Islamic conquest—the next chapters in this ecclesial history—one finds more common christological ground than were the antagonists of that era.

The volume covers in depth and detail the theological positions and arguments of Severus of Antioch and his interlocutors Julian of Halicarnassus, Nephalius, Leontius of Byzantium, Romanos Melodos, Leontius of Jerusalem, and the expanded circle of Chalcedonian theologians and monks. The author surveys, and provides an evaluation of, the most current critical sources, outlining their positions on the Cyrilian terminology, their formulations of the hypostatic union, and the implications of their protection of the duality or unicity of natures of Christ. He goes on to lay out the role of Justinian and Theodora, of Popes John II and Vigilius, and the various patriarchs. There are chapters on the *Three Chapters* dispute, the Fifth Ecumenical Council and the condemnation of Origen.

The discussions of various attempts at reconciliation of both terminology and theology on the one hand, and theologians and churches on the other are explored in detail. Indeed, it is in this period, and at the Council, that the hermeneutics of Chalcedon and its formulation on the person and natures of Christ are set for the subsequent course of Christian history. The authors not only deal with the explication of the original sources and arguments, but they carefully survey the secondary literature and current debates, judiciously making judgments where possible, and laying out alternatives

where they feel the documentation does not support a definitive solution. The importance, for subsequent Christianity, of the condemnations of Origenist anthropology and cosmology, and the compromises and orthodoxy of Justinian are essential for understanding the rest of Christian history and its expression of faith.

As the authors note, it has been impossible to explicate the full range of Byzantine devotional life, liturgical development and artistic expressions, all of which are central to the christological faith developed during this century. However, we can be appreciative of this massive research project, which will be the basis of teaching and research in Christology and ecclesiology for decades to come. The volume ends with an appraisal of the sixth century and the Justinian era. Finally, there is also an extensive bibliography, four indexes for both parts one and two of Volume two.

Brother Jeffrey Gros, FSC

Terrence W. Tilley, with John Edwards, *et al.* *Postmodern Theologies: The Challenge of Religious Diversity*. Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1995, pp. x+182.

With exceptional clarity, Terrence Tilley has provided an informative and helpful introduction to the various types of postmodern theologies. He and his collaborators analyze the thought of reputable postmodern theologians. In so doing Tilley makes several arguments. First, in an ironically modern way, he classifies these theologians under four categories which respectively comprise the first four parts of the book: "Constructive Postmodernisms" (which begins with the thought of Jurgen Habermas as an influential figure in this type of postmodern theology, and ends by examining the work of David Ray Griffin and David Tracy); "Postmodern Dissolutions" (Thomas J.J. Altizer, Mark C. Taylor, Edith Wyschogrod); "Postliberal Theology" (George Lindbeck); and "Theologies of Communal Practice" (Gustavo Gutierrez, Sharon Welch, J.W. McClendon). Secondly, Tilley argues that although they are diverse, each of these theologians constructs her/his own position "oppositionally". By this Tilley means that theologians of the "post-age" define and construct their positions in opposition to "relevant alternative theological (and antitheological) positions" and that "the ways in which a theology or theological position distinguishes itself . . . determines its meaning" (p. 1). Tilley's own classifications stem from his assessment of "the ways" these theologians

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tivists explore – and clash over – some of the scientific, religious, moral, philosophical, economic, and political claims advanced by contemporary environmentalists.

Charles Rubin recommends, “grass roots action” rather than attempts to “save the earth”; Andrew Kimbrell disagrees about the “roots” of the “green problem.” Patrick Michael discusses how forecasts of “global warming” have led to expensive policies; Christopher Flavin chides him for being complacent. Gregg Easterbrook celebrates environmental legislation and activism; Ronald Bailey argues that free-market affluence enables such activism. Thomas Derr declares that nature has no “intrinsic value or rights” which are confined to human beings; James Nash disagrees and urges humans to be more “altruistic predators;” Peter Hill weighs the relative merits of governmental action; Andrew Steer argues that private solutions must be focused on the common good.

This book is primarily, indeed exclusively, Protestant in approach and content. Yet it signifies the strength of Evangelical witness in ethics and public policy. It also reminds us as Orthodox of the responsibility to articulate appropriate responses and adequate, practical ways of living which redress the ecological imbalance in our world. One way of doing this is by cooperating with other Christians and listening to their concerns. It is a kind of “ecumenical” attitude, simply because we all share the earth on which we walk. It is unacceptable that a book like this, which covers such a broad range of concern – from religion to science and the environmental – almost completely ignores Roman Catholic and Orthodox thought.

Nonetheless, this is an important work that debates the manifold politics and perils that surround our endeavors to become better stewards of God’s creation.

David G. Hallman (ed.), *Ecotheology*, Maryknoll NY: Orbis Books and Geneva: World Council of Churches; 1994, 316 pages.

The result of the United Nations “Earth Summit” in Brazil (1992), this book contains important and challenging essays by more than two dozen contributors. Although it presents “voices from south and north”, it is in fact an example of how the fundamental questions of lifestyle and Christian witness in the face of threats to the survival of humanity and our planet transcend “north and south dialogue” (see the Introduction).

There is an *ecumenical*, in the sense of inter-confessional and inter-

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Harold A. Netland, *Dissonant Voices: Religious Pluralism and the Question of Truth* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1991) pp. 323.

The thesis of the present study is the Christian claim of truth, while the conflicting religious claims of other religions are rejected as false. The author states that salvation is "only" available through Jesus Christ (p. ix).

Netland begins this study with an analysis of "The Challenge of Religious Pluralism." The author raises the problem of the contemporary question of Jesus' demand that "no one comes to the Father except through Me." The author believes that some people today, basing themselves on the exposure to the many cultures, reject the claim that "there is only one way to God" (p. 1).

Yet Netland defends this "exclusivism," holding that the Christian truth-claim is central and that wherever Christian claims conflict with other religions, the non-Christian claims must be rejected as *erroneous*. Also, he defends the conviction that the Bible is God's revelation, that Jesus Christ is the unique incarnation of God, and that Jesus Christ is the only Savior and so salvation is not found in other religious structures.

He criticizes "inclusivism," which, while espousing the truth-claims of Christianity that God is revealed through Jesus Christ, yet also allows that salvation is made possible through other religions.

This attitude is described by the term "pluralism" which rejects that God was revealed in a unique way in Jesus Christ. This philosophy accepts that God actively reveals Himself "in all religious traditions. Jesus is just the great religious leader who was used by God to provide salvation to humanity. Christianity, according to this view, is "one of the legitimate human responses to the same divine reality" (p. 10).

The author brings forth biblical and church history events to show the uniqueness of the Christian faith. He is critical of theologians who reject Christian exclusivism, claiming that Christianity does not uniquely and exclusively hold the truth because many other religions similarly provide salvation to numerous people in the world. Exclusivism, such theologians claim, is arrogant and therefore must be rejected. The author responds that, "Christians have traditionally held that incorruptible truth-claims are being made by various religions and thus that not all of the claims of the many religions can be true. At least some must be false." *The truth of Christianity is clearly demonstrated in the Scriptures and the unique event of the Incarnation of Jesus Christ.*

In his case studies of Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam and Shintoism, those doctrines contradicting the Christian faith are simply to be regarded as false. The author makes the point that two contradictory positions cannot be true—one is false. Netland makes the case for Christian truth, by analyzing the positions of scholars and philosophers, such as Ludwig Wittgenstein, Wilfred Cartwell Smith, John Hick and others. The human cultural divergences are interpreted in terms of mythological language.

Pluralism challenges Christianity today and many theologians are searching for alternate Christologies to the traditional normative Christology of the uniqueness of Christ. Metland analyzes the traditional Chalcedonian Christology and points out the need for a fresh Christian response to the contemporary understanding of Jesus Christ. He points out the distressing attacks of both Protestant and Roman Catholic theologians on this traditional Christology, and discusses in particular the views of John Hick and Paul Knitter. The author points to the Scriptural proclamation of the uniqueness of Christ—that redemption, reconciliation and salvation is possible through Jesus.

On the question of the salvation of “those who never heard” the proclamation of the Gospel, the answer is found in Romans, Chapter 2. Each person will be judged according to the faith one has and not according to revelation not available to him or her.

Claiming the uniqueness and truth of the Christian faith must not and does not logically lead to intolerance. But Christians must not enter into dialogue with the assumption of searching for truth about God and the human predicament. These basic truths are not negotiable from the Christian viewpoint. For the author, the “truth” is not an epistemological, structural abstract concept. “Truth” is an existential, personal relationship with the Divine Logos as manifested in the Incarnation of Jesus Christ.

George C. Papademetriou

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Dorylaion: Bulwark of the Byzantine Frontier

CLIVE FOSS

The strategic location of Dorylaion made it one of the Byzantine Empire's most important cities, particularly militarily. The history of the city is outlined from its Roman roots to its fall to Turkish forces in the twelfth century. Based upon medieval sources and modern research, the city's archaeological remains are described.

The city of Dorylaion figures frequently in the medieval history of the Byzantine Empire as one of the keys to the survival of imperial power in Asia Minor. It occupies an extremely strategic position at the northwestern edge of the Anatolian plateau, commanding the roads between Constantinople and the interior.¹ The main highway from the capital to the East led first to Nicaea, then through spectacular but difficult mountain country to debouch onto the great plain of central Anatolia near the site of Dorylaion. From there, the road divided, to lead southward into Phrygia, southeast to the Cilician gates or eastward to Ankyra and the northeastern frontier. In addition, natural routes from the Dardanelles and the Sea of Marmora met at this point. Control of this site therefore ensured easy passage for armies or more peaceful traffic, or prevented the advance of an enemy from the east into the rich districts opposite the capital.

The history of Dorylaion closely reflects the fortunes of the medieval Empire, especially during the Dark Ages when it was struggling for survival against incessant onslaught. At that time, and for long after, Dorylaion was one of the most important cities of the empire. Its remains (though they have now disappeared) can serve to illustrate the size and nature of such a place, and offer the possibility of close correlation with historical

¹For the site and communications of Dorylaion, see D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (Princeton 1950) 42 with n.21.

texts, for the site was the subject of a unusually fine description, written at the last moment of its Byzantine history.

The site also had the advantage of an abundant supply of water in the form of hot springs, and of a nearby hill suitable for fortification. The hot springs were always one of its major attractions, while the fortress defined the city's role in the Byzantine period. A substantial settlement, therefore, flourishing from trade and the passage of armies, has always occupied the spot where the large modern city of Eskişehir now flourishes. Since geographical conditions are constant, it is natural that Eskişehir, as well as being an administrative center and an important market, should be the headquarters of the Turkish railways which follow the same natural routes as the ancient highways. In fact, it had long since been a station on the main Ottoman military highway across Anatolia, which corresponded closely with its Byzantine predecessor.²

Dorylaion was already an important city under the Romans. It issued an abundant coinage, while the site had produced a fair amount of artifacts and inscriptions. The Roman city, however, cannot be described since its remains have left no trace.

The record of Late Antiquity is exiguous but revealing. A milestone of the Tetrarchy shows that the highway through the city was maintained at the beginning of the period, while a text attests its use at the end.³ When the Galatian saint, Theodore of Sykeon, traveled from his monastery west of Ankyra to the capital in about 608, he made a detour through Dorylaion at the request of the inhabitants and of two local monks. Such was his fame that a great crowd met him outside the city, which he entered to offer the Eucharist and bless the population. He then retired to the nearby monastery of the Fountains, blessed the monks, and continued on his way along the great highway.⁴

Its only other appearance in late antique sources shows the city in another characteristic role. In 563, Justinian ordered the scholarian troops who had been based there to be transferred to Thrace. These forces, originally a branch of the palace guard, were stationed in several cities of Phrygia and Bithynia; two of them, one with the rank of *komes*, are known from

² See the article of W. Taeschner, 'Anadolu' 475 in *Encyclopedia of Islam*²; Milestone: *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua* V.2; other inscriptions, which include a boundary stone and a font, are uninformative: *ibid.*, 4, 5, 55, 56.

³ *Vie de Théodore de Sykéon*, ed. A.-J. Festugière (= *Subsidia hagiographica* 8, Brussels 1970) cap. 130.

⁴ Theophanes, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig 1883) 236.

tombstones found at Dorylaion.⁵ The city was evidently then a major military base, as it had been under the Romans and was long to remain.

Byzantine sources have frequent occasion to mention Dorylaion, usually in connection with the movement of armies; as a major post on the imperial highway across Anatolia; and an object of attention for both Byzantines and Arabs.⁶ Its importance is evident as early as the seventh century, when the new militarized administration of themes was apparently organized. Dorylaion ranked third among the cities of the Opsikion, which ensured the defense of Constantinople by comprising the north-western part of Asia Minor. Its headquarters were at Nicaea.⁷ Most of the theme was in the coastal region; inclusion of this corner of the central plateau reveals the necessity of controlling the roads to the capital, and thus emphasizes the strategic importance of the city in the entire defensive system.

By the tenth century, but perhaps beginning already with the new themes, the imperial highway system was organized so that regular stations on the main route across Anatolia had specific functions assigned to them. These *aplekta*, "stations" (from the Latin *applicatus*), stood at wide intervals, and were the points where the components of imperial expeditions to the east would meet. The first was at Malagina on the lower Sangarius, where the generals of the Opsikion and of Thrace met the emperor.⁸ The second was Dorylaion, where the Domestic of the Schools and the general of the Thrakesion joined the expeditions. As a natural road junction, Dorylaion was eminently suitable for such a role.⁹

Such a place was naturally the goal of the Arab attacks which afflicted Asia Minor for the two centuries after the loss of the eastern provinces in the initial Arab onslaught. The first came as early as 652, when an expedition sent out by Muawiya, then governor of Syria, reached but did not take the city.¹⁰ Another attack in 707 may actually have been successful, but its

⁵ T. Drew-Bear and W. Eck, "Kaiser-, militär- und Steinbruchinschriften aus Phrygien", *Chiron* 6 (1976) 305ff.; A. von Domaszewski, "Inschriften aus Kleinasien", *AEMO* 7 (1883) 178 no.28, with dating by T. Drew-Bear, "Some Greek Words: Part II", *Glotta* 50 (1972) 219f.

⁶ For a survey of the Byzantine history, with full references, see K. Belke and R. Mersich, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini 4: Phrygien und Pisidien* (Vienna 1990) 239-242.

⁷ Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *de Thematibus*, ed. A. Pertusi (Vatican 1952) 69.

⁸ See C. Foss, "Byzantine Malagina and the Lower Sangarius", *Anatolian Studies* 40 (1990) 161-183.

⁹ Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *de Ceremoniis*, ed. I. Reiske (Bonn 1829) I. 444, on which see G. L. Huxley, "A List of ἀπλῆκτα," *GRBS* 16 (1975) 87-93.

¹⁰ al-Baladhuri, *Kitāb Futuh al-Buldan* 164 = *The Origins of the Islamic State*, tr. P. Hitti

attestation is uncertain.¹¹ In any case, the sparse indications of the sources give no real impression of the devastation inflicted on the whole country by incessant attacks, which the empire was usually powerless to prevent. In such cases, the loss of life and property, and particularly the suffering of the country population, can be better imagined than described.

The theme of the Opsikion, being close to the capital, was of great value for defense, but also to usurpers as a base of operations, as becomes evident by the eighth century. When Leo III died in 741, his son Constantine V ordered Artavasdos, general of the Opsikion and his own brother-in-law, to join him in a campaign against the Arabs. Artavasdos, who was then at Dorylaion, refused, and was instead proclaimed emperor in the city, thus beginning the revolt which brought him momentary possession of the throne.¹²

The Arabs reached Dorylaion again in 777 and laid siege to it. The circumstances of the attack reflect the typical strategy of the Dark Ages, a time when the resources of the empire were under great strain.¹³ The Emperor ordered his generals to advance, not in order to engage in open battle (which was to be avoided) but to strengthen the fortresses of the region and to post garrisons in them. Each general was then to take a force of 3000 picked men and to harass the Arabs so closely that they would not be able to send out marauding parties. The imperial troops were to burn pastures and any supplies they found. After besieging the city for 17 days, the Arabs ran short of supplies and lost many horses to starvation. As a result, they decamped homeward, though they still had sufficient strength to attack Amorion, the next great fortress on the highway to the east, directly connected to Dorylaion.

In the case of most such attacks—which were innumerable in these centuries when the empire lay open to the Arab offensive—one brief text alone provides often sketchy information. Here, however, there is a rare coincidence of evidence, with an Arab account giving a slightly different version of the campaign, but adding some details. According to Tabari, “Hasan the son of Kahtaba made a summer raid with 30,000 regularly paid men besides volunteers, and he reached the hot springs of Adhruliya; and he did much wasting and burning in the country of the Romans without taking a

(New York 1916) I.255

¹¹ E. W. Brooks, “The Arabs in Asia Minor, from Arabic Sources”, *JHS* 18 (1898) 192. See the discussion of R. Lilie, *Die byzantinische Reaktion auf die Ausbreitung der Araber* (Munich 1976) 65, 118, 171f.

¹² Theophanes 414; Nicephorus, *Opuscula historica*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig 1880) 59.

¹³ For what follows, see Theophanes 452.

fort or meeting an army.... And it is said that Al Hasan only went to this spring in order to refresh himself in it on account of the saltiness of it. Then he returned with his men safe and sound."¹⁴ Although this passage makes no mention of the harassment of the Arabs by the relatively small Byzantine forces, it does introduce an important topographical element by providing the first medieval reference to the local hot springs which were long to remain an object of curiosity and admiration.

The imperial tactics here described were defensive since the Byzantines lacked the force to engage the enemy directly. Instead, the local populations and the troops were concentrated in forts where they could be easily protected, and the land ravaged so that it would provide no sustenance to the enemy. In such a case, the country might suffer almost as much from its defenders as its enemies, though Tabari shows that the latter did their share here. The result, in any case, was successful; Dorylaion was saved.

In the long struggle with the Arabs, Dorylaion was one of the main imperial bulwarks. In 804, the Emperor Nikephoros advanced here when the Arabs attacked Amorion.¹⁵ He was followed in 838 by Theophilos, when the circumstances were repeated on a larger scale, as the Arabs embarked on a campaign which delivered some of the greatest fortresses of Asia Minor into their hands. Theophilos directed operations for the unsuccessful defense of Amorion from here, despatching the general of the Anatolic theme with a large army, and it was here that he returned after being defeated in Pontos, and sent an embassy with gifts to dissuade the Arabs from their attack.¹⁶ Five years later, the same emperor returned to Dorylaion after another defeat in which his life had been saved by Michael, general of the Anatolics, a hero who died in the city from his wounds.¹⁷

These frequent raids taught the Arabs a great deal about Anatolia and its cities. It was thus possible for Ibn Khordadbeh, who wrote around 845, to describe the Byzantine themes and the roads which ran through them in some detail. He describes the great military highway on which "Darauliyya" appears as the Meadow of the Emperor's Donkeys, a designation appropriate to a place in a vast plain where essential beasts of burden could be raised for the army.¹⁸

¹⁴ E. W. Brooks, "Byzantines and Arabs in the Time of the early Abbasids", *EHR* 15 (1900) 735f.

¹⁵ Leo Grammaticus, *Chronographia*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn 1842) 203.

¹⁶ *Theophanes Continuatus*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn 1838) 126, 129.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 636.

¹⁸ Ibn Khordadbeh, *Kitâb al-Masâlik wa'l Mamâlik*, ed. M. de Goeje, in *Bibliotheca Geographorum arabicorum* VI (Leyden, 1889) 101f. Note that the first *aplepton*, Malagina,

The city had contained a greater source of interest, sufficient to justify a longer description:

When the Emperor campaigns against the Arabs, he camps at Dorylaion four days' journey from Constantinople; the Arabs and the Romans meet here. It has great green meadows watered by a pure river thirty cubits wide which has many sources and flows into the Sangarius.... Dorylaion has springs of fresh hot water over which the Emperors have constructed a vaulted building for bathing. There are seven basins, each of which can accommodate a thousand men. The water reaches the breast of a man of average height, and the overflow is discharged into a small lake.¹⁹

Here again, the strategic location is primary—the emperor camps here because it is *aplekton*—but the springs, which attracted greater curiosity, tended to become more fabulous than real.

When the Byzantine victories of the ninth and tenth centuries finally brought peace to Asia Minor, Dorylaion is rarely mentioned in the years when it was probably most prosperous. It appears only once in this period, when Bardas Skleros arrived in 978 to call up and train an army to repress the revolt of Bardas Phokas against the legitimate emperor Basil II.²⁰

The events preceding and following the disastrous battles of Manzikert in 1071 and Myriokephalon in 1176, brought the Turks far into the west of Anatolia. Dorylaion, once again a center of military activity, consequently appears often in the narratives of this time. In 1069, Romanos IV, as he prepared a campaign against the Turks, had to put down the revolt of Crispin, commander of his Frankish auxiliaries. To accomplish this, he gathered an army and advanced to Dorylaion, where he stayed three days and received the submission of the rebel.²¹ In the fateful year 1071, the young Alexios Komnenos joined Romanos at Dorylaion, where he had mustered his troops and was camping preparatory to the great offensive against the Turks.²²

After the disaster of Manzikert, the Empire was afflicted not only by the massive attack and immigration of the Turks, but by frequent rebellions. One of the most dangerous was led by the Norman Roussel who attempted to carve out a personal domain in Asia Minor, a threat considered so serious that the current emperor Michael VII appointed his uncle, the Caesar

was also famed for its stables, an essential element at the gathering points for the imperial armies: see above, n.8.

¹⁹ Ibid. 109f.

²⁰ Leo Diaconus, *Historia*, ed. C. Hasius (Bonn 1828) 117.

²¹ Attaliates, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn 1853) 124.

²² Bryennius, *Historiae*, ed. P. Gautier (Paris, 1975) 105.

John, to combat it in 1074. He duly came to Dorylaion and camped there on his way to ignominious defeat and capture.²³ Not long after, the city fell to the Turks who were then overrunning the whole country. In the general collapse of the Byzantine defenses, even Dorylaion could not hold out, but the circumstances of its capture are unknown. The sources only state that in 1080, when a rarely successful expedition against an usurper achieved a victory near the lake of Nicaea, its officers debated (rather extravagantly) the possibility of marching on Dorylaion to fight the Sultan.²⁴ In other words, the Turks were already entrenched there, as they were on the rest of the plateau, by the time Alexios Komnenos came to the throne in 1081.

The new emperor, threatened equally in East and West, had all he could manage simply to maintain control of the coastal regions opposite the capital. They were under the direct threat of the new Turkish state which had audaciously established its capital, not on the plateau, but in the great city of Nicaea, only two days journey from Constantinople. As it turned out, Alexios found an unexpected ally in the First Crusade whose troops besieged Nicaea in 1097, only to see it surrendered to the Emperor at the last minute.

A week later, the Crusade moved on toward Jerusalem, following the great Byzantine highway through the mountains and valleys of Bithynia. Because of their numbers and relative scarcity of provisions, they divided into two parties, both headed for Dorylaion. The Sultan, who had already lost his capital, was determined to make a stand at the point where the armies would emerge onto the plain. He and his allies lay in ambush on a range of hills near Dorylaion and surrounded the first party of crusaders, thinking it was their entire army and inflicted serious losses. When the rest of the forces arrived, however, the tide turned, and the Turks suffered a crushing defeat. The Sultan now lost his tent and treasure, and withdrew far to the east, allowing the crusaders free passage across the plateau toward Antioch and their goal.²⁵ This account, as much as any other, underlines the strategic importance of the site: an excellent place for blocking access to the plateau, which is difficult to defend once an army has broken through this crucial point.

Alexios took advantage of the crusaders' victories to regain control of Nicaea and the entire coastal region as far as Cilicia, but his forces never retook Dorylaion. Instead, it was left to lay in ruins for almost a century,

²³ Attaliates 184.

²⁴ Bryennius 304.

²⁵ See the clear account of S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades I* (Cambridge 1951) 183-187, with discussion of the site of the battle.

forming part of a no-man's land between the hostile powers of Constantinople and Konya, the new capital of the Seljuk Turks. The highway, of course, never lost its importance, and naturally led the German contingent of the Second Crusade in 1147 to Dorylaion where ironically they were beaten by the Turks and forced to retreat westward.²⁶

Later, as the power or ambition of Manuel Komnenos grew, he led an expedition which reached the site of the city in 1159. There, or in the region, he defeated a Turkish force and captured a huge number of men and animals. The detail is significant; the area, now without a major fortified center, had been occupied by nomads, who represent an important aspect of the Turkish immigration, one destined to have extreme long-range effects. In military terms, the nomads were easily routed by the regular Byzantine forces, but impossible to drive out altogether. Despite the impression given by an inspiring narrative of personal bravery, Manuel advanced no further that year. The next year, he attacked Turkish territory by a more southern route, advancing from Philadelphia. While he was so occupied, Turkish ambassadors were crossing the plain of Dorylaion (evidently in their control) oblivious of his attack.²⁷

The prelude to the fatal battle of Myriokephalon provides the occasion for the most detailed description of the city in the whole Byzantine period. When it is compared with the remains, it enables the size and nature of the city to be understood. Manuel, who had by now advanced far into Anatolia more than once, planned to establish a permanent strong base on the plateau to secure his gains and limit the power of the Turks to harass the lands which he controlled. Two contemporary chroniclers give accounts which are worth considering in some detail. Kinnamos related that Manuel crossed into Asia in 1175, gathered his forces in Malagina, then

ἔξῃσι ἐπὶ τὰ Δορυλαίου πεδία, τὰ ἐκεῖσε Ῥωμαίων φρούρια εἰρήνης κατεχούσης ἔτι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐμπλησόμενος καὶ τοῖς τῷ σουλτάν δυσμεναίνουσι θάρσος ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐμποιήσων, πρὸς δὲ καὶ Δορύλαιον ἀνοικοδομήσων. τὸ δὲ Δορύλαιον τοῦτο ἦν μὲν ὅτε πόλις ἦν μεγάλη τε εἴπερ τις τῶν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ καὶ λόγου ἄξια πολλοῦ. αὖρα τε γὰρ τὸν χῶρον ἀπαλὴ καταπνεῖ, καὶ πεδία παρ' αὐτὴν τέταται λειότητός τε ἐπὶ πλείστον ἦκοντα καὶ ἀμήχανόν τι προφαίνοντα κάλλος, οὕτω μέντοι λιπαρὰ καὶ οὕτως εὐγεω, ὥς τὴν τε πόαν δαψιλῇ μάλιστα ἐκδιδόναι καὶ ἄβρὸν παρέχεσθαι ἄσταχυν. ποταμός δὲ διὰ τοῦ τῆδε τὸ νῆμα πέμπει καὶ ιδέσθαι καλὸς καὶ γεύσασθαι ἡδύς. πληθὸς ἰχθύων

²⁶ Kinnamos, ed. A. Meineke (Bonn 1836) 81.

²⁷ Kinnamos 191, 194.

τοσοῦτον δὲ ἐννήχεται τούτῳ, ὅσον εἰς δαψίλειαν τοῖς τῆδε ἀλιευόντων ἑλλίπες οὐδαμῇ γίνεσθαι. ἐνταῦθα Μελισσηνῶν ποτε καίσαρι οἰκίαι τε ἐξφοκοδόμενται λαμπραὶ καὶ κῶμαι πολυάνθρωποι ἦσαν θερμὰ τε αὐτόματα καὶ στοαὶ καὶ πλυνοί, καὶ ὅσα ἀνθρώποις ἡδονὴν φέρει, ταῦτα δὴ ὁ χῶρος ἄφθονα παρῆχεν. ἀλλὰ Πέρσαι, ὀπηνίκα ἢ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἤκμαζεν ἐκδρομή, τὴν τε πόλιν εἰς ἔδαφος βεβλημένην ἀνθρώπων ἔρημον παντάπασιν ἐπεποίηnton καὶ τὰ τῆδε πάντα μέχρι καὶ ἐπὶ λεπτὸν τῆς πάλαι σεμνότητος ἠφάνισαν ἔχνος. ἡ μὲν δὴ πόλις τοιάδε τις ἦν. τότε δὲ Πέρσαι ἀμφὶ δισχιλίους περὶ ταύτην νομάδες ὡς ἔθος ἐσκήνουν· οὓς δὴ ἐκεῖθεν ἀπαναστήσας, βασιλεὺς χάρακά τε τῆς πόλεως οὐ μακρὰν ἀποθεν περιβαλὼν τὰ πρὸς τειχοδομίαν ἐξηρτύετο. καὶ ἡ μὲν κατὰ τάχος ἠγείρετο, σχήματος μὲν πολλῷ τοῦ πρότερον ἔνδον ὑποκεχωρηκυῖα, τοῦ δὲ εἰς ἄκραν αὐτῇ ἀνεστηκότος τὰ πρότερον γηλόφου ὀλίγῳ δὴ ἀποτέρῳ καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτου πάντοθεν τοῦ διαστήματος τὸν περόβολον στρέφουσα. βασιλεὺς δὲ ξύν ὀλίγοις ἐκάστης ἡμέρας ἐξιὼν λόχοις τε ἐξ ἀφανοῦς καὶ κατὰ πρόσωπον συμβολαῖς πολλοὺς Περσῶν ἔκτεινε καὶ τῶν παρὰ σφίσιν ἐπιφανῶν. οὐ γὰρ ἐνέλιπον συχνοὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀνωτάτω συρρέοντες ἐφ' ᾧ τὴν οἰκοδομίαν οὕτω κωλύειν.

Βασιλεὺς δὲ ἡμερῶν οὕτω τετταράκοντα τὴν πόλιν ἀνεγείρας, ἐπειδὴ τάφρον τε αὐτῇ περιήλασε καὶ Ῥωμαίων ὡς πλείστους ἐνταῦθα ὤκισατο, φρουρὰν ἀποχωρῶσαν τῆδε καταλιπὼν ὀπίσω ἐχώρει,

he advanced to the plains of Dorylaion to replenish the Roman forts there with supplies while peace still lasted, to encourage still more those who were hostile to the Sultan, and also to rebuild Dorylaion. This Dorylaion, when it was a city, was as great as any in Asia and worthy of much fame. A gentle breeze blows over the land, and plains extend around it, exceedingly flat and exhibiting an extraordinary beauty. They are so rich and have such good soil that they especially yield abundant grass and produce luxuriant wheat. A river, fair to see and sweet to taste, sends its course through their midst. Such a multitude of fish swim in it that there is never a lack, no matter how abundantly they are fished by the people there. Splendid dwellings were erected there for the Melissenos who was once Caesar, and there were well-populated villages and natural hot springs and colonnades and baths; the place offered in abundance everything that gave pleasure to men. Such was this city. But the Persians [i.e., Turks] when their attacks against the Romans reached a peak, threw the city down to the ground and made it entirely empty of inhabitants. Everything there vanished, even the smallest trace of its ancient splendor. At that time 2000 Persians, nomads, were camped around it as usual. After he had removed them from there, the Emperor set up a palisade and prepared the material for wall building. The city

was erected rapidly, contracted far within its earlier plan, directing its circuit a little outside the hill which had previously served it as a citadel and at a distance from it on each side. The Emperor went out every day and killed many of the Persians, including some who were distinguished among them, both in ambushes and in face-to-face encounters. For they did not fail to come rushing in frequently from the interior in order to prevent the construction... Within 40 days, the Emperor had erected the city and when he encircled it with a ditch, settled a great many Romans there and left a sufficient garrison, he departed....²⁸

This narrative reveals many aspects of the late twelfth century city. It benefited from an especially fertile and congenial location, with an abundance of water, crops and fish. The area supported a large population, especially in the villages, while the city, with its famous hot springs, was adorned with splendid buildings. The arrival of the Turks after the battle of Manzikert, however, had changed everything: by 1175 the city was completely deserted, and the area around occupied only by nomads. When Manuel began his reconstruction of the fortress, he made no attempt to include the entire ancient area of the city, but neither did he confine himself to the hilltop which had previously been fortified. Instead, he built his wall and ditch around the base of the hill. The significance of all this will become apparent when the remains are considered.

Choniates relates the same events, adding the details that the Emperor participated in the work, carrying the first stone on his back to encourage his men to work with great speed to build the wall, to erect a palisade outside it, and to excavate numerous cisterns within. The Turks were naturally greatly disturbed by this activity since they had used the surrounding plains as pastures for their flocks and herds, and made every effort to impede the work by harassing the parties which went outside the palisade for supplies. The Emperor himself led parties which drove them off, and the work was completed.²⁹

Manuel took great pride in the reoccupation and reconstruction of such a strategic site. In a letter to the Pope, he announced that he had devastated the cities and castles of the Turks and built a large and populous city in the

²⁸ Kinnamos 294f., 297, based on the translation of C. Brand, *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, (New York 1976) 220-222, with some modifications according to the partial translation of Louis Robert, "Sur des lettres d'un métropolitain de Phrygie," *Journal des Savants* (1961) 163, who discusses the passage as an example of an encomium of a city.

²⁹ Choniates 176f. Cf. P. Wirth "Kaiser Manuel I. Komnenos und die Ostgrenze: Rückeroberung und Wiederaufbau des Festung Dorylaion," *BZ* 55 (1962) 21-29 for comparison of these two accounts and additional details from Eustathius of Thessalonica.

middle of the territory of the Sultan, placing Greek and Latin troops in it as a garrison. The city gave him control of a great region of Turkish territory and—an item which would interest the Pope—rendered the road to the Holy Sepulcher safe for all Christians, both Greek and Latin.³⁰ The Emperor's joy, like his momentary success, was soon to evaporate. The rebuilding of Dorylaion formed the prelude to the disaster of Myriokephalon in the following year, 1176, when the Byzantine forces, led by Manuel in person, were crushed and the frontier defenses drastically weakened. As one of the conditions of peace after his victory, the Sultan proposed that Manuel demolish the fortifications of Dorylaion and Soublaion, a town on the Maeander. The walls of the latter were torn down, but Dorylaion remained untouched in spite of the protests of the Sultan.³¹

Such resistance, however, was in vain; soon after the battle, while Manuel was still on the throne, Dorylaion became Turkish, and has so remained. Under the Seljuks, the city, which was now the bulwark of a different frontier, grew and prospered. This narrative may end with the last description of the site before modern times. In all respects, it resembles those already considered, though the author is not a Byzantine but an Arab. Al Harawi, who traveled extensively in Asia Minor and the Levant, made a visit to Constantinople in the reign of Manuel, who died four years after the fateful battle, in 1180. During or after this stay, he made an excursion to Dorylaion. His description also serves to date the conquest, for it shows that Dorylaion, now known by a new name, Sultanyuki, which represented the Turkish Sultan Höyüğü ('the Sultan's Mound') was definitely in Turkish hands:

Sultanyuki is a remarkable place which is called also al-Thirma (i.e. Thermae, The Hot Springs) in Greek and further Aw Garm (Hot Springs in Persian); it is situated on the frontier of the country, at the limit of infidel territory. A water which has no equal in purity, warmth, sweetness and useful properties runs under ruined arcades. Sick people come there from everywhere. We will describe later, if God wills, its qualities, as well as the serpents found there in our 'Book of Wonders'.³²

For al-Harawi, as for the earlier writers both Byzantine and Arab, the marvelous water is the main attraction of the city whose hot springs never failed to elicit praise.

³⁰ Letter of Pope Alexander III to Peter, cardinal of Paris in *Recueil des historiens de la France* XV.952f.

³¹ Choniates, *Historia*, ed. J.A. van Dieten (Berlin 1975) 189, 192.

³² Al-Harawi, *Guide des lieux de pèlerinage*, ed. and tr. J. Sourdel-Thomine (Damascus 1957) 58 (text), 131f. (translation). For the date of his visit, see xvii. The 'Book of Wonders'

This text, however, has a real historical value which seems not to have been noticed: it shows that Dorylaion fell to the Turks before the death of Manuel. It thus emphasizes the disastrous effects of the battle of Myriokephalon, which two years later led to the fall of the other great bulwark of this frontier region, Kotyaion.³³ After its powerful fortress was taken by the Seljuks in 1182, there was nothing to prevent the movement of the Turks westward into the fertile valleys of the Aegean region, the core of Byzantine Asia Minor. With this text, the city enters a new and successful period of its history, which falls outside the scope of the present discussion.³⁴

At first sight, the insignificant remains of medieval Dorylaion are a great disappointment. They reflect not its long and important history, but the continuous occupation which has led to constant destruction of old buildings. In particular, the building of the Anatolian railway in 1886-1893 entailed the virtually complete demolition of the Byzantine town. This, like the modern, consisted of two parts: the hot springs with their associated buildings, and the acropolis. The former lay near the river Tembris, while the hill, which bore the fortifications and was thus the center of the military base and the Byzantine city, stands about a mile away on an ancient mound now called Shar Hüyük.

Kinnamos notes the palace of the Caesar Melissenos, with its hot springs, colonnades and baths; they were presumably ruined in his time, since they had been abandoned for a century. The palace was evidently the work of Nikephoros Melissenos, the only member of his family to become Caesar. He received the title from his brother-in-law Alexios Komnenos at a time when Dorylaion was no longer in Byzantine hands. He had, however, previously been active in Asia Minor where he raised the revolt in 1080, which resulted in the loss of most of its cities to the Turks. Whatever his actual relation to the city, such buildings attest to its prosperity before the battle of Manzikert, and a continuing attention to the hot springs which have always been a major feature of the site. The structures of Melissenos have long disappeared, but in the nineteenth century it was still possible to determine that some part of the construction of the baths then visible was of Byzantine origin.³⁵

apparently never appeared.

³³ See C. Foss, *Survey of Medieval Castles of Anatolia I: Kütahya* (BAR International Series 261, Oxford 1985).

³⁴ See the sketch by B. Darkot (1948) in *Islam Ansiklopedisi* 4. 384-387.

³⁵ See G. Radet "En Phrygie," *Nouvelles archives des missions scientifiques et litteraires* 6 (1895) 496f.

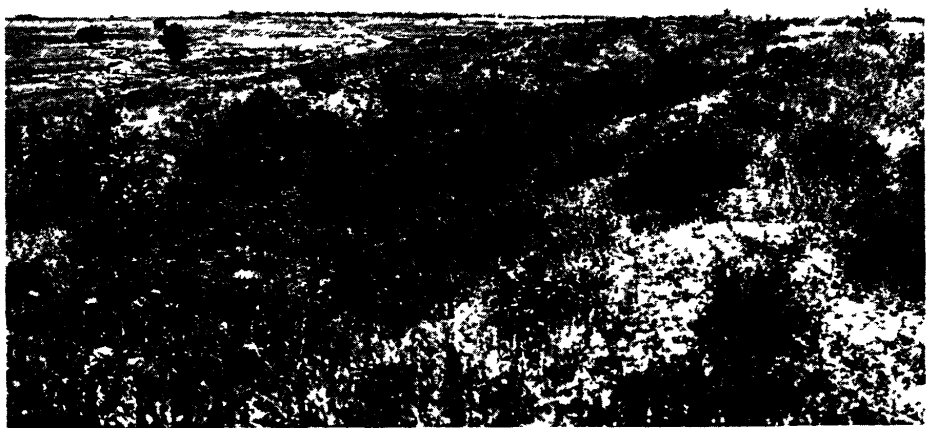
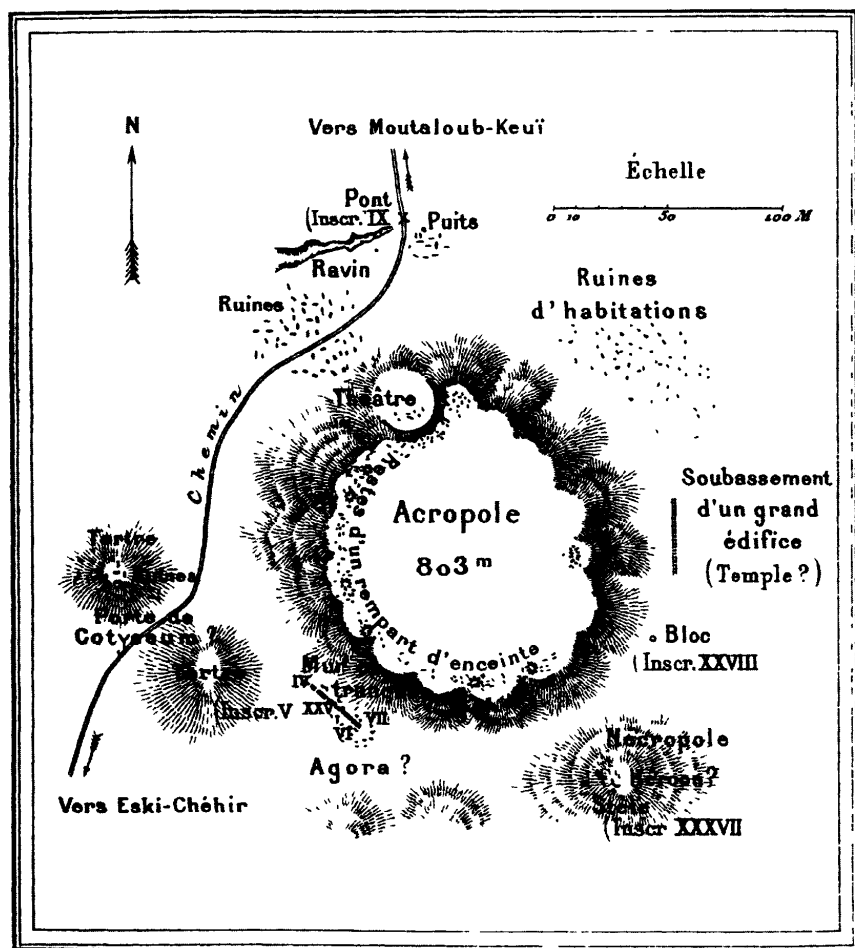


Fig. 1. The site of Dorylaion. The thorns (lower left to upper right) are growing in the trench where the foundations of the citadel once stood.



G. Radet del. 1894.

Imprimerie Nationale

Fig. 2. Plan of Dorylaion, as visible in August 1893, after Radet.

The fortifications, described by Kinnamos and implicit in most mentions of the city, have now entirely disappeared. In fact, they have been robbed so thoroughly that the surviving trenches where the foundations once stood reveal the size and the shape of the walls on top of the prehistoric mound which formed the center of the Byzantine city (Fig. 1). These walls were over two meters thick and contained thirteen semicircular towers of 10 meters diameter set very close together, at distances of about ten meters.³⁶

They were not the only fortifications to leave a trace in modern times (Fig. 2). Another wall, which ran round the base of the hill and at a slight distance from it, was faced with spoils of all kinds, including many inscriptions, statue bases and architectural fragments; all these have disappeared. This wall had a gate on the southeast, also built with spoils, and flanked by towers nine meters wide. An extension of this wall to the north and east included a broad area, apparently with residential quarters; it was built in the same style. None of these walls, it appears, took any account of the ancient buildings of the city.

The chronology of these fortifications is naturally difficult to establish, since their remains no longer survive, but a careful description of the nineteenth century provides some criteria. The wall around the base of the hill was faced with spoils of all kinds, and thus appropriate to a time when much of the city was in ruins. It apparently resembled the walls of Sardis, and may thus be assigned to the Dark Ages, probably the seventh century when Dorylaion became one of the bulwarks of the Opsikion theme. The extension built in a similar style is presumably somewhat later, but still of the Dark Ages, a phenomenon visible, for example, at Ankyra, where the fortress of the mid-seventh century was enlarged in the early ninth. Both its circuits make extensive use of spoils in their facing.³⁷

The construction of walls with reused material, of course, is common, appearing as early as the third century. Walls of that time, however, tend to take into account the ancient buildings of a city, and encompass a large part of its area. In the seventh and eighth centuries, the use of spoils is especially distinctive. Walls have a fine facing of marble blocks of all kinds, abstracted from ancient buildings, and laid in regular rows. The style cannot be mistaken, so that when these walls were described as resembling

³⁶ For the various fortification walls, see Radet (previous note) 497-507, and especially the review of this work by J. Korte in *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* 159 (1897) 391-394 for a more careful description of the remains and comparison of the walls with Sardis.

³⁷ See C. Foss and D. Winfield, *Byzantine Fortifications* (Pretoria 1986) 133ff., 143.

those of Sardis, it is reasonable to assume that they were products of the same age. The walls of Sardis were built in the mid-seventh century; others of similar style are of the seventh-eighth centuries.³⁸

The wall around the acropolis apparently did not use spoils or large stones but was made of rubble and brick set in a good deal of mortar. The use of such materials, as well as the close-set towers suggest that this circuit was added later, perhaps as early as the ninth century. The fortifications, then, would appear to represent a long period of Byzantine rule. The city first contracted to the hill and its base, abandoning most of the ancient site, then subsequently expanded somewhat. A third stage saw either the addition of an acropolis or the further contraction of the town to the top of the hill with abandonment of the earlier circuits.

The passages of Kinnamos and Choniates cited above provide valuable details about these fortifications, and offer the possibility of correlation between texts and remains. Kinnamos first states clearly that the city as rebuilt by Manuel was considerably smaller than it had been, thus denoting the difference between the Byzantine and the ancient city whose ruins were no doubt then apparent. At first sight, it would seem that the circuit on the acropolis should be the wall of Manuel, but Kinnamos specifies that the wall ran just outside the hill which had previously been the citadel, while Choniates adds the detail that a ditch was dug around the new circuit. The work was executed in haste, forty days being sufficient, it is claimed, for the whole project.

The descriptions are clear enough when seen in the light of the remains, which seem to demand that the wall around the base of the hill be identified as that of Manuel. The ditch around it, of course, could only be on the flat ground at the base of the hill, not on the top, where the walls came to the edge of the slopes. The style of that wall, however, is not at all suitable to the late twelfth century, nor is it likely that a wall built in haste would make careful use of a facing of spoils. Rather, it is most probable that the work of Manuel consisted in rebuilding this wall which had fallen into ruin, and adding the ditch around it.

The remains, even though they have completely disappeared, still put the work of Manuel in a new light. They suggest, contrary to the impression given by the texts, that the emperor did not erect an entirely new circuit but rebuilt existing walls, itself a project which required considerable effort and was potentially of great value.

³⁸ Ibid. 131-137.

The ruins of Dorylaion, such as they are or have been, suggest that the city underwent the transformation and contraction which were common in Dark Age Anatolia. At that time, ancient buildings were torn down to make fortifications, and the resulting medieval cities were notably smaller than their ancient predecessors. Dorylaion was evidently no exception. Its acropolis hill is less than 150 meters in diameter; the wall around the base stood out not much more than 30 meters; and even the expanded circuit included far less than double the fortified area. It would thus seem that this great military base was built on the small scale of a medieval castle rather than following the plan of an ancient city. Here, as in so many cases, the remains provide the essential evidence. The narrative sources, however well they describe the wonders of the place, rarely allow an image of it to be recreated. Alone among the sources considered here, the long passage of Kinnamos makes it plain that the city as rebuilt by Manuel consisted of little but the fortification, and even that stuck close to the acropolis hill. Thanks to careful descriptions of a century ago—which can to some extent be confirmed by the surviving trenches where the stones have been removed—it is possible to visualize one of the great cities of Byzantine Asia Minor. As it turns out, its development was closely parallel to that of many other cities of the region where also written sources and archaeology may be combined to reveal far more than would otherwise be apparent.

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scholar as well as the popular reader who seeks a more detailed account of Chrysostom's life with a comprehensive study utilizing recent scholarship. Even if a bit pricey, at \$47.50, it is well worth the cost. *Golden Mouth* should serve for many decades as a companion to Baur's monumental work.

John Fotopoulos

Mahmoud Zibawi. *Eastern Christian Worlds*. Tr. from the French by Madeleine Beaumont, edited by Nancy McDarby (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1995). Pp. 272. Originally published as Mahmoud Zibawi, *Orientes Chrétiens entre Byzance et Islam* (Paris: Desclee de Brouwer, 1995).

Lavishly illustrated with more than one hundred color and nearly two hundred black and white photographs, Mahmoud Zibawi's study of the "Oriental" Christian icon is a significant visual supplement to the increasingly well-known religious art of imperial Byzantium. Zibawi's icons, produced in Syria, Armenia, Egypt, and Ethiopia between late antiquity and the present, are deeply marked by the traces of a striking symbiosis with the artistic traditions of Persia, India, Tibet, and China. This process of exchange and interaction is followed across a wide range of media, including mural and panel painting, plaster reliefs, wood and stone carvings, and illuminated manuscripts.

It is to be regretted, therefore, that the relationship between text and images is not always clear. The majority of the black and white plates, for example, are not discussed or referred to in the surrounding text. In other cases, the connection is more or less clear, but not explicit, and the reader must struggle to integrate image(s) with text. The simple addition of parenthetical references to the plates would have largely, but not, however, completely, rectified this problem. At p. 49 to cite just one example, the reader is provided with a detailed verbal description of a Syrian bas-relief which does not appear among the two bas-reliefs reproduced at the bottom of the page. The unseen bas-relief is then compared to a carved flagstone, an image of which is provided. It is not until p. 58 that marginal references to the plates are provided, but these refer only to the color plates, and not to the black and white.

On the central question of cultural borrowing and exchange, the

author's approach is also somewhat unsatisfactory, and the potential to suggest the growth and evolution of these truly liminal spaces is never fully achieved. Instead of developing a historical model or paradigm for such interaction, we are given little more than personal anecdote, decontextualized patristic citations, and poetical allusion, such as the metaphorical "mutual illumination of Athens and Jerusalem" (p. 47). In addition, historical explanation and description tend to be obscured by the reification of "art," which becomes the conscious subject of its own activities, "borrowing and remodeling, innovating and renewing itself, all the while jealously keeping its profound unity" (p. 26). "Art," we are told, "ignores history and its events. It remains creative and dynamic" (p. 61). Metaphor overwhelms historical and artistic analysis: "Solidly rooted and unified, Coptic art asserts itself. Its work innovates and multiplies its epiphanies. But after brilliantly shining during the Middle Ages, its light grows dim in the sixteenth century; it progressively loses its moorings and its unifying vision" (p. 201).

Even more problematic is the presumption of an "orientalization and sacralization of Hellenism," which touches on the central defect of this work: its unmitigated "Orientalism," i.e., an imaginary ontological and epistemological distinction between "the Orient" and "the Occident." In the case of Zibawi's work, originally titled *Christian Orient between Byzantium and Islam*, it takes the form of a binary opposition between the art of "the Orient" (i.e., Islam) and "the Occident" (i.e., Byzantium). Recent scholarship has done much to deconstruct such a view. In terms of art history, such a tidy parting and its implicit essentialism has been definitively problematized by Oleg Grabar, *The Formation of Islamic Art* (Yale, 1987), esp. pp. 1-18. Moreover, a leading historian of late antiquity, Glen Bowersock, *Hellenism in Late Antiquity* (Ann Arbor, 1990), has argued that it was precisely *Hellenism* which enabled local cultures to grasp and articulate their own identities and traditions; similar positions are adopted in the essays collected by Amelie Kuhrt and Susan Sherwin-White, *Hellenism in the East* (London, 1989). On the basis of surviving papyri and other documentary evidence, Robert S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (Princeton, 1993), compellingly deconstructs the notion of a local Coptic culture in Egypt that is easily separable from the Greek culture, while Fergus Millar, *The Roman Near East. 31 BC-AD 337* (Harvard, 1993), does the same for any notions of an

"Arab" or "Semitic" ethnic identity during the same period.

In the preface, Olivier Clement notes that, despite the historical divisions of doctrine and church polity, "beauty was never divided," and he introduces Zibawi's album as an avatar of the "ecumenism of beauty" (p. 7). By the book's conclusion, however, this somewhat reductive aestheticization of Christianity turns out to be mere cosmetics, flaking away to reveal deep ethnic and confessional partisanship (despite denials to the contrary). These sentiments are grounded theologically, and we are needlessly reminded that paradise is in the "east," that Christ ascended in the "east," will return from the "east," and that, as the "new Adam," Christ himself is named "Orient" (Zach. 6.12, LXX). Under such an exclusivist regime perhaps the old Adam was better: his name was understood to be an inclusive anagram for north, south, east, and west: A(natole), d(yse), a(rktouros), m(esebria).

Nicholas P. Conostas

On the Mystical Life: The Ethical Discourses. Volume 1: The Church and the Last Things, By St. Symeon the New Theologian; translation and introduction by Alexander Golitzin (Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1995). Pp. 193.

Within the last forty years, St. Symeon the New Theologian, one of the most unique and compelling voices of the Christian mystical life, has been rediscovered. This volume, together with the two other subsequent volumes in this series, make available for the first time in English one of the most important series of treatises, the Ethical Discourses, by St. Symeon. For St. Symeon the mystical life is identical with the true Christian life, and it is necessary to seek and know God in Christ, through the Holy Spirit, in an intimate and conscious way in this life or one will not know Him in the next. Through this direct encounter with God the Christian is gradually transfigured into a god by grace. This mystical theme is prevalent in all of Symeon's writings and governs his theology, including the theological issues treated in this volume. Although lacking the personal warmth, poetic intensity and descriptions of direct mystical experience found in his Hymns or Catechetical Discourses, these Ethical Discourses are crucial in providing the clearest exposition of several of Symeon's major ideas.

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Ecclesiology in the International Orthodox– Catholic Ecumenical Dialogue

JAROSLAV Z. SKIRA

In the call for papers of the Orthodox study group of the American Academy of Religion, one of the subject categories requested papers on Church and Sacraments.¹ So, following the thematic guidelines to “explore any aspect of Orthodox ecclesiology,” especially themes “that enter into dialogue with other traditions,” I present here a paper on the ecclesiology of the Joint Commission for Theological Dialogue Between the Roman Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church. To date, there have been four agreed statements by the Commission: “The Mystery of the Church and of the Eucharist in the Light of the Mystery of the Holy Trinity” (Munich, 1982), “Faith, Sacraments and the Unity of the Church” (Bari, 1987), “The Sacrament of Order in the Sacramental Structure of the Church with Particular Reference to the Importance of Apostolic Succession for the Sanctification and Unity of the People of God” (Valamo, 1988), and “Uniatism, Method of Union of the Past and the Present Search for Full Communion” (Balamand, 1993).²

¹ An abbreviated version of this paper was presented at the annual American Academy of Religion meeting (Philadelphia, November 1996).

² I The Munich Document. “Le mystere de l’Église et de l’Eucharistie à la lumière du mystère de la Sainte Trinité,” *Irénikon* 55 (1982) 350-362. Engl. Trans: “The Mystery of the Church and of the Eucharist in the Light of the Mystery of the Holy Trinity,” *One in 2000? Towards Catholic-Orthodox Unity*, ed. Paul McPartlan (Middlegreen, Slough St Paul’s, 1993) 37-52. II. The Bari Document: “Foi, sacrements et unité de l’Eglise,” *Irénikon* 60 (1987) 336-349. Engl. trans: “Faith, Sacraments and the Unity of the Church,” *One in 2000? Towards Catholic-Orthodox Unity* 53-69. III The Valamo Document: “Le Sacrement de l’Ordre dans la structure sacramentelle de l’Église en particulier l’importance de la succession apostolique pour la sanctification et l’unité du peuple de Dieu,” *Irénikon* 61 (1988), 347-359. Engl. Trans: “The Sacrament of Order in the Sacramental Structure of the Church with Particular Reference to the Importance of

This study will provide a broad sketch of this Commission's adoption and development of a common "eucharistic ecclesiology," or the ecclesiology of communion or *koinonia*. Such a topic will touch upon trinitarian theology; the sacraments (especially Eucharist and Ministry); eschatology; and the concrete expressions of *koinonia*. One should note that this "dialogue of love," as it was called by Patriarch Dimitrios I and Pope John Paul II, only sought to address issues upon which there was doctrinal agreement between Orthodox and Catholics, and not issues of dispute.

MUNICH

The trinitarian basis for the Commission's ecclesiology is first developed in the Munich document, on the mystery of the Church. And the first doctrinal statement the Commission made, even before directly discussing the Trinity, was about Christ's Incarnation and Resurrection.

Christ, Son of God incarnate, dead and risen, is the only one who has conquered sin and death. To speak, therefore, of the sacramental nature of the mystery of Christ, is to bring to mind the possibility given to [persons], and through [them], to the whole cosmos, to experience the "new creation," the kingdom of God here and now through material and created realities (Munich, no. 1.1).

The sacramental foundation of the church is thus based upon the sacrament of Christ - Christ is the sacrament par excellence. This sacrament of the Christ event (his life and Resurrection) becomes identical with the sacrament of the holy Eucharist, in the Commission's theology, because in and through the Eucharist we are fully incorporated into Christ (Munich, no. 1.2).³ However, even though eternal

Apostolic Succession for the Sanctification and Unity of the People of God," *One in 2000? Towards Catholic-Orthodox Unity*, 71-86 IV The Balamand Document "L'Unitarisme, méthode d'union du passé, et la recherche actuelle de la pleine communion," *Irénikon* 66 (1993) 347-356 Engl Trans: "Unitarism, Method of Union of the Past, and the Present Search for Full Communion," *Origins* 23/10 (Aug. 23, 1993), 166-169 V The next proposed topic is "Ecclesiological and Canonical Consequences of the Sacramental Structure of the Church. Conciliarity and Authority" (originally scheduled for June, 1996, but postponed)

³ Robert Barringer, "The Catholic-Orthodox Dialogue: The Present Position," *Rome and Constantinople - Essays in the Dialogue of Love*, ed. Robert Barringer (Brookline, Mass: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1984) 63

life is given in Christ in “earthen vessels,” it is given only as a foretaste and a pledge so that there is an eschatological dimension to the incorporation of humanity and creation into Christ. Here is the attestation that Christology is incomplete unless one includes the church as part of the definition of Christ.⁴ Christology, and ecclesiology for that matter, also remain incomplete without also saying something about the Father and the Holy Spirit. Referring to the role of the Father and Spirit in this event, the document affirms that:

The Spirit, who proceeds eternally from the Father and manifests himself through the Son, prepared the Christ-event and realized it fully in the resurrection (Munich, no. 1 3).

The Christ event was realized according to the Father’s will in the Holy Spirit. At Pentecost, the Spirit was poured out and appeared to the community of disciples so that as Christ entered into the glory of God, through the Spirit, he also entered into the “sacramental *tropos* [mode] in this world” (Munich, no. 1 .4a). The Spirit thus plays both the role of the agent of Christ, and the one who gives Christ his identity, preparing the mission of Jesus and revealing Christ in his work as Saviour (Munich, no. 1.5).⁵ In this way, the church and the Eucharist become the place of the “energies” of the Holy Spirit.

Not only is the eucharistic celebration an *anamnesis*, but truly and sacramentally “the *epaphax* [the once and for all] is and becomes present” (Munich, no. 1.5b). The celebration of the Eucharist is pre-eminently the “*kairos* [proper time] of the mystery” (Munich, no. 1.5b). Eternity breaks into time where the eucharistic community celebrates amongst the Trinity and the saints.⁶

The Spirit puts into communion with the body of Christ those who share the same bread and same cup. Starting from there, the Church manifests what it is, the sacrament of the Trinitarian *koinonia*, the “dwelling of God with [humanity]” (cf. Rev. 21:4) (Munich, no. 1.5).

⁴ Note the analysis in Paul McPartlan, *The Eucharist Makes the Church: Henri de Lubac and John Zizioulas in Dialogue* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1993) 213

⁵ John Zizioulas, “The Mystery of the Church in the Orthodox Tradition,” *One in Christ* 24 (1988) 298–299.

⁶ Zizioulas writes that the Church draws its identity not from what it is, but from what it will be, in “The Mystery of the Church in the Orthodox Tradition” 296 Compare Munich’s assertion: “The pilgrim Church celebrates the Eucharist on earth until its Lord comes to restore kingship to God the Father so that God may be all in all” (Munich, no. 1.4c).

As a whole, the eucharistic celebration makes present the Trinitarian mystery of the church, where the epiclesis is a prayer for the full effects of communion of all in the Eucharist (Munich, no. 1.6).

This consummation in unity, brought about by the one inseparable operation of the Son and the Spirit, acting in reference to the Father in his design, is the Church in its fullest sense (Munich, no. 1.6)

Yet, there is always present an orientation that recognizes that the church is a pilgrim church, inspired after Pentecost and awaiting the Parousia (Munich, no. 1.4c).

This discussion on the relationship between Christ, the Trinity and the Eucharist then indicates the relationship with the other sacraments of Christian initiation, namely, Baptism and Chrismation. The text affirms that "the Church becomes what it is called to be by Baptism and Chrismation" (Munich, no. 1.4a), meaning that Baptism and Chrismation form the Church, while the Eucharist fully completes this form.⁷ Believers are baptized in the Spirit in the name of the Trinity to be incorporated into one body, and when the church celebrates the Eucharist, it realizes what it is - the body of Christ (Munich, no. 1.4b).

That is why the Eucharist is truly the Sacrament of the Church, both as sacrament of the total gift the Lord makes of himself to his own and as a manifestation and growth of the body of Christ, the Church (Munich, no. 1.4c).

Here we begin to see the development of the notion that the "Eucharist makes the Church," yet the "Church also makes the Eucharist." The Eucharist "builds," "forms" and "fashions" the Church into the Body of Christ (Munich, no. 1.4e), yet the Church also "celebrates" (Munich, no. 1.4c; 1.4e) and "offers" the Eucharist, with Christ, to God (Munich, no. 2.3; cf. No. 1.6).⁸ The dominant emphasis in all the texts, though, tends to be that the "Eucharist makes the Church." In such a "eucharistic ecclesiology," the Eucharist is expressed as the fundamentally constitutive event of being church.⁹

⁷Elsewhere, the Munich document repeats that the newness of Baptism and Chrismation "bears its fruit" in the eucharistic celebration (Munich, no. 2.1)

⁸For this aspect, see J. M. Tillard, "What is the Church of God," *One in Christ* 20 (1984), 241; and McPartlan, *The Eucharist Makes the Church* 75ff, 98ff

⁹An analysis of the theological influence on the Munich document of two prominent members of the Commission, namely, John Zizioulas (Orthodox) and Jean-Marie Tillard

In the second section on the "Mystery of God, One in Three Persons," the Commission then makes the transition to a discussion on the "local church." The church is described as a local reality and as a prototype of the human community renewed. The Commission states that for a region, one speaks of churches, but note that their terminology means "the Church of God, but in a given place" (Munich, no. 2.1). Citing 1 Cor. 15:17, the Munich document can thus say that there is only one bread, and one cup, and one body of Christ in the plurality of members (Munich, no. 2.1). "This mystery of the unity in love of many persons constitutes the real newness of the Trinitarian *koinonia*" (Munich, no. 2.1). And this Trinitarian *koinonia* is communicated to all persons through the Eucharist.

Now the Church existing in a place is not formed, in a radical sense, by the persons who come together to establish it. There is a "Jerusalem from on high" which "comes down from God," a communion which is at the foundation of the community itself (Munich, no. 2.1).

The creation of this *koinonia* is a free gift that finds its source in the Father, and is sustained by God, and this community manifests itself visibly when it is assembled, but becomes fully "church" in the eucharistic synaxis (Munich, no. 2.1).

What then are the characteristics of *koinonia* or communion ecclesiology? Notably, the Munich document mentions first that *koinonia* is eschatological. *Koinonia* is the newness which comes in the final times, that begins in the here and now with conversion and repentance (*metanoia*), by the healing of sins through participation in the Eucharist (Munich, no. 1.2). Next, *koinonia* is also kerygmatic - the celebration "announces" the event of the mystery, actually realizing it in the present in the Spirit (Munich, no. 2.2). Communion is brought about in the unity of the faith, and so orthodoxy (correct faith) is inherent in the eucharistic *koinonia* (Munich, no. 2.2). Lastly, the Commission states that *koinonia* is also ministerial and pneumatological. Each person, according to their vocation and charisms received at Baptism, is to become a living member in the body of Christ and a minister of *koinonia* (Munich, no. 2.2). In this

(Roman Catholic), is provided by Myroslaw Tataryn, "The 'Munich Document' and the Language of Unity," *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 26 (1989) 648-663.

discussion, we are frequently reminded of the relational nature of *koinonia* as a foretaste that awaits the final consummation of all in the Parousia, despite the visitation of the *eschaton* in the event of the eucharistic celebration.¹⁰

Up to now, I have managed to speak about "eucharistic ecclesiology" without reference to the bishop, so it is to this that our attention now turns. The Commission's ecclesiology relies on a close bond between the Eucharist and the bishop. In a section on the "Ministry of the Bishop," the dialogue acknowledged that the ministry of the bishop is not merely a "practical" function, but primarily an "organic" function (Munich, no. 2.3). By the sacrament of ordination, the Spirit sacramentally confers ("and not juridically as a mere transmission of powers") the authority of servant.¹¹ In eucharistic ecclesiology, the eucharistic unity of the local church implies communion between the one who presides and the people to whom the word and the eucharistic gifts are delivered, yet it is also the bishop who receives from the Church the word and offerings (Munich, no. 2.3). The bishop, in the celebration of the Eucharist, appears as a minister of Christ, and a minister of *koinonia* or communion (Munich, no. 2.3). "The union of the community with him is first of all of the order of *mysterion* and not primordially of the juridical order" (Munich, no. 2.3). In the church, every Eucharist can only be celebrated in truth if "presided" over by the bishop or a presbyter in communion with him (Munich, no. 2.4).

The final section, "The Mystery of the Church," affirms that there is only "one Church of God" (Munich, no. 3.1). Again, Baptism is seen as integrating one into the Body of Christ, but it is only in the Eucharist that all Christians become "the same unique Body of Christ" (Munich, no. 3.1). If there are many celebrations, there is still only one mystery in which all participate, in communion with the Apostles and with all those who have celebrated this memorial.¹² Similarly, the local church which celebrates the Eucharist with the bishop is not a section of the Body of Christ for "each eucharistic assembly is truly

¹⁰ The church is an "event" by becoming again and again what it will be in eternity. Consult Zizioulas, "The Mystery of the Church in the Orthodox Tradition" 301; and Tataryn, "The 'Munich Document' and the Language of Unity" 651

¹¹ Cf. Colin Davey, "Orthodox-Roman Catholic Dialogue," *One in Christ* 20 (1984) 357

¹² Davey, "Orthodox-Roman Catholic Dialogue" 356

the holy Church of God" (Munich, no. 3.1).¹³ The one and unique church finds its identity in the koinonia of churches (Munich, no. 3.2). Again, the Trinitarian basis for this is that God is the communion of three Persons - a diversity in unity (Munich, no. 3.2).¹⁴ This discussion indicates that the local and universal churches are necessarily simultaneous (Munich, no. 3.2).¹⁵

The Munich text has stated that there are two conditions which "must be fulfilled above all if the local church which celebrates the Eucharist is to be truly within the ecclesial communion" (Munich, no. 3.3). The first is "catholicity in time."¹⁶ The church is apostolic because it originated and is continually sustained in the mystery of salvation revealed in Christ and transmitted in the Spirit of the Apostles. Secondly, there must be a mutual recognition of each other among local churches (Munich, no. 3.3). The text sets up a number of orders, or levels, of communion, the base element being the communion existing in a local church with the bishop. This communion is then extended to regional and patriarchal communion, ultimately expressed in the communion between "sister" churches (Munich, no. 3.3).¹⁷ Mutual recognition and communion is possible only under the following conditions:

The first condition is communion in the same kerygma, and so the same faith. Already contained in baptism this requirement is made explicit in the eucharistic celebration. But it also requires the will for

¹³ For the New Testament and patristic background of communion ecclesiology, see Raymond Brown, "New Testament Background for the Concept of the Local Church," *CTSA Proceedings* 36 (1981) 1-14; and Michael Fahey, "Ecclesiae sorores ac fratres: Sibling Communion in the Pre-Nicene Christian era," *CTSA Proceedings* 36 (1981) 15-38.

¹⁴ Refer to John Zizioulas, "The Mystery of the Church in the Orthodox Tradition" 294-297; and Jean-Marie Tillard, "What is the Church of God?" 226-242.

¹⁵ Joseph Komonchak, "The Church Universal as the Communion of Local Churches," in *Where Does the Church Stand?* Concilium 146, ed. G. Albengo & G. Gutiérrez (Edinburgh: T.&T. Clark; New York: Seabury Press, 1981) 30-35.

¹⁶ John Meyendorff, "'The Hope That is In Us' - A Comment on the Document. The Mystery of the Church and the Eucharist in Light of the Mystery of the Holy Trinity," *St Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 27 (1983) 296, cf also Joseph Ratzinger, "Some Aspects of Church as Understood as Communion," *Origins* 22/7 (23 June, 1992) 108-112.

¹⁷ Refer to Emmanuel Lanne, "United Churches or Sister Churches: A Choice to be Faced," *One in Christ* 12 (1976) 106-123, for an analysis of the theology of "sister churches"; and Michael Fahey, *Orthodox and Catholic Sister Churches: East is West and West is East* (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1996).

communion in love (*agape*) and in service (*diakonia*), not only in words but in deeds (Munich, no. 3.3).

Each bishop, receiving the charism of the Spirit for the *episkope* [oversight] of the local church, also receives the charism for the *episkope* of the entire church (Munich, no. 3.4). This life of the Spirit "equally implies unity and witness and calls for fraternal correction in humility" (Munich, no. 3.3). Since the church is made present in the bishop's local church, each bishop cannot separate the care of his own church from that of the universal church.

BARI

Reflective of the Munich document, the Bari document continues with an emphasis on the importance of the "local church" in its relationship to faith and the sacraments.¹⁸ The document's message, in short, is that through faith, in the participation in the sacraments, persons are incorporated into the body of Christ by their *koinonlia* (communion) with this visible church (Bari, no. 8).

In dealing directly with each sacrament, the Commission reiterates that all the sacraments have an essential relationship to the Eucharist. The Eucharist alone "proclaims fully in the presence of the Lord," and therefore it should be seen as the proclamation of faith *par excellence* (Bari, no. 17). In the eucharistic assembly, which is again reflective of the eucharistic ecclesiology of the documents, the church is seen as celebrating the event of the mystery of salvation for the glory of God (Bari, no. 18). Nevertheless, to celebrate the sacraments means to "proclaim, transmit and assimilate" each local church's faith (Bari, no. 22). Faith is deepened and nourished by the ecclesial communion lived in the sacraments in each community (Bari, no. 21). In celebrating the sacraments, each local church expresses its "profound nature," in its continuity with the church of the Apostles and in communion with all the churches who share the one and the same faith and who celebrate the same sacraments (Bari, no. 23).

¹⁸ The text here again does not reflect Roman Catholic preferences for referring to "local" churches as "particular churches" so as to de-emphasize the geographical factors in such an area of discussion. See no. 1.3 in the United States Orthodox-Roman Catholic Consultation, "A Response to the Joint International Commission for Theological Dialogue Between the Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic Church Regarding the Bari Document: 'Faith, Sacraments and the Unity of the Church, (June 2, 1988),' " *GOTR* 34 (1989) 167

A second major section of the document deals with the sacraments of initiation and their relationship to the unity of the church. Christian initiation is seen as a whole where "Chrismation is the perfection of Baptism, and the Eucharist is the completion of both" (Bari, no. 37). Baptism "in water and the Spirit is participation in the death and resurrection of Christ and new birth by grace" (Bari, no. 37); Chrismation is the "gift of the Spirit to the baptized as a personal gift" (Bari, no. 37); and the Eucharist "grants participation in the kingdom of God, including the forgiveness of sins, communion in the divine life itself, and membership of the eschatological community" (Bari, no. 37). Some have noted that one of the weaknesses of this insistence and emphasis on the centrality of the Eucharist is that Baptism is not given the prominence which the early church gave to it, and that the document should express that baptism already "achieves entry into divine communion and participation in the eschatological community" (cf. Bari, no. 37).¹⁹ The text does, however, state that Baptism achieves a "definitive incorporation into the Church," while the Eucharist permits "full participation in the Body of Christ" (Bari, no. 44).

Consequently, one can see in this document a strong insistence on the Eucharist as the central sacrament of the church, which is consistent with the International Commission's appropriation of eucharistic ecclesiology. Inter-communion, eucharistic hospitality or eucharistic sharing is, as a result, generally not practised by both churches without a unity in the same faith. The Bari document thus affirms that communion is possible only between those churches which have the faith, ministry and the sacraments in common (Bari, no. 21; cf. Munich, no. 3.3)²⁰ A unity in the same faith, despite a diversity of theological expressions, however, will not impede sharing in the Eucharist by the Orthodox and Catholics.

¹⁹ United States Orthodox-Roman Catholic Consultation, "A Response to the Joint International Commission for Theological Dialogue Between the Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic Church Regarding the Bari Document: 'Faith, Sacraments and the Unity of the Church, (June 2, 1988)'" 168, no. 19, cf. Thomas FitzGerald, "The Holy Eucharist as Theophany," *GOTR* 28 (1983) 32ff.

²⁰ See this same theme echoed in the Munich document, no. 3.3. Cf. Andre de Halleux, "Foi, baptême et unité: à propos du texte de Bari," *Irénikon* 61 (1988) 156-157. See also, Emmanuel Lanne, "Catholic-Orthodox Dialogue. In Search of a New Direction," *One in Christ* 21 (1985) 20.

Ministry is also briefly touched upon (Bari, no. 34-36). Ministers, especially bishops and presbyters, are said to "maintain, guarantee and promote" growth in the communion of the sacraments. The unity of the local church is thus guaranteed and judged by the bishop, in communion with the Apostles, other bishops, and with the faithful (Bari, no. 36). The text explains that both churches recognize that after the Schism, East and West developed in isolation, no longer able to make unanimous decisions for one another. Recourse is made to the early church as an example of how to react to heresy and schism. It was the ecumenical councils that "declared the correct faith authentically and infallibly" (Bari, no. 27). The notion of ecumenical councils, as being authoritative bodies for discerning between mere differences in theological expression and actual differences in doctrinal formulation, is not continued in this section, anticipating the proposed session on "Conciliarity and Authority"

VALAMO

The third agreed statement, from Valamo, is on the sacrament of order or ministry, and apostolic succession. The document further explores the theology of the church and sacraments dealt with in the previous statements, specifically dealing with the sacramentality of orders and the nature of episcopal ministry as it relates to the apostolicity of the church.

Continuing with similar doctrinal emphasis as the previous statements, the Valamo document emphasizes the close link between Christ and the Holy Spirit (cf. Valamo, 1-4; 9).²¹ Since the descent of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost, it is in the Spirit that those charged with ministry are to aid and develop the church (Valamo, no. 7), where "ministry in the church makes present Christ himself" (Valamo, no.2). The whole church, including ordained ministers, are to continue the building up of the body of Christ through the gifts of the Holy Spirit. The pneumatological dimension recognizes that ministry is possible only within *koinonia*: "there is no ministry... outside or above the community" (Valamo, no. 5).

Further, there is an eschatological aspect to the sacrament of min-

²¹ Gennadios Limouris, "The Understanding of the Church Emerging in the Bilateral Dialogues - Coherence or Divergence?" *GOTR* 36 (1991) 11, 12

istry.²² On the one hand, Christ is “present in history” through the Church (Valamo, no. 4), yet on the other, Christ’s presence in the church is eschatological in that: “Whenever the Spirit is at work, he actually reveals to the world the presence of the kingdom in creation. Here is where ecclesial ministry is rooted” (Valamo, no. 10).) The document again repeats that the eucharistic assembly is not just an “anticipation of the final community of Christ” (Valamo, no. 4), but it is also a “manifestation . . . of the *eschaton* in history” (Valamo, no. 22).²³

It is through Christ that the church, its pastors and faithful, come together to form a “chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a people he claims as his own (1 Pet. 2:9; cf. Rev. 5 :10)” (Valamo, no. 17). All members of the church, of the Body of Christ, are called to participate in the royal priesthood of believers, and “to become ‘a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God’ (Rom. 12:1; cf. 1 Pet. 2:5)” (Valamo, no. 18). The church as a “sacramental organism” is a body constantly being renewed and its ministry is not limited to office holders.²⁴ The church’s ministry implies a vocation of all to live a life of holiness according to the Gospel (cf. Valamo, 8, 40). Furthermore, the church is:

Necessarily charismatic, for without the manifold gifts of the Holy Spirit—without that personal experience of God which is possible only in the Holy Spirit—the Church with its official ministry would not just become “institutional” ... it would cease to be the Church.²⁵

This is not to diminish the importance of the ordained ministry, but to note that apostolicity is located in the whole church and in the life of each believer, and not just in a particular office (Valamo, no.

²²George Tavad, *The Church, Community of Salvation. An Ecclesiological Perspective* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1992) 110f.

²³Orthodox-Roman Catholic Consultation in the United States, “Agreed Statement of the Eastern Orthodox-Roman Catholic Consultation in the United States Apostolicity as God’s Gift in the Life of the Church (Nov 1, 1986),” *GOTR* 32 (1987) 196, no. 7. Refer also to John Zizioulas, “Apostolic Continuity and Orthodox Theology Towards a Synthesis of Two Perspectives,” *St. Vladimir’s Theological Quarterly* 19 (1975) 106-107; and Thomas FitzGerald, “The Eastern Orthodox - Roman Catholic Statement on Apostolicity,” *GOTR* 32 (1987), 192.

²⁴John Erickson, “The International Orthodox–Roman Catholic Commission’s Statement on Ordination,” *Ecumenical Trends* 18 (1989) 50.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 50

45-46).²⁶ Apostolicity of ministry must consequently be "derived from the continuity of the community as a whole in apostolic life and faith," which also means that the "succession of ministers in office is normally agreed to be subordinate to that of ecclesial apostolicity."²⁷

Further, the ministry of the bishop is principle among the "charisms" of ministry which the Spirit elevates, a ministry of gathering all into unity in a "service of communion" and expressing the fullness of the church (Valamo, no. 25).²⁸ In this ministry of the whole church, ordained ministers "constitute a charismatic ministry [*leitourgema*] *par excellence*" (Valamo, no. 23). The goal of this ministry is unity in Christ (Valamo, no. 23), and these various ministries converge in the celebration of the Eucharist. Hence:

This unity of the local Church is inseparable from the universal communion of the churches. It is essential for a Church to be in communion with the others. This communion is expressed and realized in and through the episcopal college. By his ordination, the bishop is constituted as minister of a Church which he represents in the universal communion (Valamo, no. 26).

In the church, of all the charisms and ministries, the ministry of the bishop is presented here as one of presiding and gathering in unity.

At the celebration of the Eucharist, the role of the bishop and presbyters is made more clear. The celebration of the Eucharist is the central act of episcopal ministry (Valamo, no. 36). The bishop, as presider at the Eucharist, is responsible for communion with the teachings of the Apostles and for the guiding of the community of the faithful to witness and salvation in Christ. The presbyters, similarly, form a college grouped around the bishop at the eucharistic celebration. The priest is sent to be pastor of his parish, to preside at the

²⁶ This is one of the observations that the U. S. Orthodox-Catholic Consultation said should have been made more explicit. See Ronald Roberson, "The Dialogue Between the Catholic Church and Orthodox Church in the United States," *One in Christ* 27 (1991) 181-182, and Zizioulas, "Apostolic Continuity and Orthodox Theology Towards a Synthesis of Two Perspectives" 95.

²⁷ Orthodox-Roman Catholic Consultation in the United States, "Agreed Statement of the Eastern Orthodox-Roman Catholic Consultation in the United States: Apostolicity as God's Gift in the Life of the Church (Nov. 1, 1986)," 197, no. 10, commenting on Valamo, no. 45-46.

²⁸ Jean-Marie Tillard, "The Church of God is a Communion. The Ecclesiological Perspective of Vatican II," *One in Christ* 17 (1981) 123-126.

Eucharist, administer the sacraments, to preach the Gospel and to catechize (Valamo, no. 42), while the diaconate is at the service of the bishop and presbyters in the “work of evangelization and in the service of charity” (Valamo, no. 43).

Further, the bishop is an “icon of Christ,” as both servant and pastor (Valamo, no. 37-39). “[The] prayer and offering of the people incorporated in Christ are so to speak, recapitulated in the thanksgiving prayer of the bishop and his offering of the gifts” (Valamo, no. 35). Although the text does not explicitly say this, it is implied that the community is an icon of the heavenly community. Christ, as both the head of the Body of Christ and its body, stands in the midst of the community as the community “offer themselves with Christ” and the saints (Valamo, no. 35). The image of the church as the Body of Christ is the dominant ecclesiological image in these texts, and is closely followed by the notion of the Church as the People (*laos*) of God.

I have commented that the apostolic tradition concerns the community, and not simply an individual ordained minister (cf. Valamo, 45), and that the tradition of the Apostles is transmitted through each local church. However, it is “within the mystery of *koinonia* that the episcopate appears as the focal point of apostolic succession” (Valamo, no. 45). Quoting the Munich document, the Valamo text reiterates that apostolic succession is more than a mere transmission of powers, yet the “see (*kathedra*) plays an essential role in inserting the bishop into the heart of ecclesial apostolicity.”²⁹ The bishop is viewed as a visible guarantor of apostolicity, a representative of it and a link of communion with other churches” (Valamo, no. 47). There is a vital link between the original community and the eschatological community through the Apostles and their visible representatives, the bishops.³⁰ The Valamo document is careful to situate the episkope within the communion of churches by affirming that, despite “the church over which he presides or the prerogatives [*presbeia*] of this church among the churches,” each bishop becomes successor of the Apostles.

As for the practical aspects of the forms of communion, traditionally these have been exercised in the forms of the exchange of letters and visits, but “principally by synodal or conciliar life” (Valamo, no.

²⁹ Munich, no. 2.4.

³⁰ Quoting Munich, no. 3.4.

52). The synodal character is more expressive of a regional communion of bishops that work for the betterment of the particular churches by joint episcopal action (Valamo, no. 53). Ecumenical councils, it is agreed, were convened in times of crisis, in order to make decisions "with supreme authority" about the faith (Valamo, no. 54). Continuing themes begun in the Munich and Bari documents, mention is also made of the development of the regional and universal hierarchies, as expressed in metropolitans and major sees. From this was born, with respect to the place and prerogatives of each of the major sees, the notion of the Pentarchy: Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem (Valamo, no. 52). It is in this context that one may address the question of primacies in the church, especially the primacy of the bishop of Rome, a question "which constitutes serious divergence" among the Orthodox and Catholic churches (Valamo, no. 55). What the Commission did agree upon is that the bishops join together under the presidency of "one whom they recognize as first among them" (Valamo, no. 53). Immediately the text then adds, "[in] fact, ... the first among the bishops only takes a decision in agreement with the other bishops and the latter takes no important decision without the agreement of the first" (Valamo, no. 53).

BALAMAND

Finally, at the seventh plenary session (and the most recent to date) in Balamand, Lebanon (1993), the International Commission agreed to a common statement entitled "Uniatism, Method of Union in the Past and the Present Search for Full Communion."³¹ The text begins unequivocally that the dialogue rejects uniatism as a "method for the search for unity because it is opposed to the common tradition of our churches" (Balamand, no. 2). The first section deals with the ecclesiological principles implicit in the discussion of uniatism and proselytism. It begins by stating that disunity is contrary to the nature of the church, and that is why that throughout the centuries various attempts were made at re-establishing unity (Balamand, no. 6-7). Certain of these initiatives led to the union of communities and parts of the Orthodox churches to the Roman Catholic church, thus caus-

³¹ The commission initially began its consultations on uniatism and proselytism in Freising, Germany (1990), eventually adopting a working draft at Ariccia, Rome (1991). These drafts form the basis of the Balamand document.

ing these Eastern churches to break communion with their “mother churches of the East” (Balamand, no. 8). Yet, despite the good intentions of those seeking unity of the church, these union attempts further deepened the division between the Orthodox and Catholic Churches (Balamand, no. 9, 10).³² Although the Commission agreed that the Eastern Catholic Churches (at times called “Uniates”) have “a right” to exist and to act in answer to the needs of their faithful” (Balamand, no. 3). Uniatism continues to remain a special ecclesiological problem in Orthodox/Roman Catholic dialogues.

The Commission, reflecting that an imbalanced theology was at the root of uniatism and proselytism, maintains that an ecclesiology that views the Orthodox and Catholic churches as “sister churches” no longer finds acceptable “uniatism” as a method or model for seeking unity (Balamand, no. 6-12).

[The] re-discovery and the giving again of proper value to the Church as communion, both on the part of the Orthodox and of Catholics, has radically altered perspectives and thus attitudes. On each side it is recognized that what Christ entrusted to his Church—profession of apostolic faith, participation in the same sacraments, above all one priesthood celebrating the one sacrifice of Christ, the apostolic succession of bishops—cannot be considered the exclusive property of one of our churches (Balamand, no. 13).

Uniatism, within this framework, is referred to as an “out-dated ecclesiology” (Balamand, no. 30). The Commission’s development of a common “eucharistic ecclesiology” searches for full communion, not in the absorption or fusion of churches, but in truth and love (Balamand, no. 14-15).

In primarily addressing the problems in Eastern Europe between the Orthodox and Eastern Catholics, the Balamand document provides practical and visible means of exercising *koinonia* in the church (Balamand, no. 20-33). Of these one can list: common pastoral witness, declarations and projects; a respect for religious liberty; the cleansing of negative historical memories; open dialogue; common evangelization and worship “in response to the prayer of Christ that

³² See the “Statement of the Catholic Members of the Consultation (Oct 31, 1992),” *Ecumenical Trends* 22/1 (January 1993) 14, no.3, written by the Catholic members of the Orthodox-Roman Catholic Consultation of the U.S.A.

all may be one, so that the world may believe (Jn. 17:21)" (Balamand, no.33).

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the ecclesiology of the Orthodox / Roman Catholic Commission can be summarized in the following way: The basis for the Commission's "eucharistic ecclesiology," which is very much a "liturgical ecclesiology," is rooted in trinitarian theology. The communion of the local church thus finds its source and goal (identity) in the trinitarian *koinonia*. This trinitarian mystery is made present pre-eminently in the eucharistic celebration. The eucharistic synaxis thus fulfills the call of Christians to be fully incorporated into the Body of Christ. Here, we can say that the "Eucharist makes the Church." Yet, at Baptism each person is called to be a minister of *koinonia* and to contribute to the up-building of *koinonia*. Conversely, we can thus say that the "Church makes the Eucharist." The role of the bishop is particularly singled out as a ministry of presiding and gathering into unity. This ministry is primarily envisioned as organic, and not institutional, as the bishop appears as a minister of Christ and communion. This ecclesiology also affirms that the nature of the church is simultaneously local and universal, and that the church's apostolicity and catholicity require communion among other local churches. Communion between other churches is expressed through the episcopal college, and is extended in synodal life and regional organization. This last theme will be continued in the Commission's next work on primacies and conciliarity in this "dialogue of love."

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Leonardo Boff, *Ecology and Liberation: A New Paradigm*. Maryknoll NY: Orbis Books, 1995, 187 pages.

The theology of Leonardo Boff has been liberating in many ways. One of the most renowned theologians of our time, Boff uses both contemporary science and the mystical tradition to critique modern approaches to ecology. He analyzes conservationism and environmentalism alike, arguing that these fundamentally "middle class" approaches fail to scrutinize the systematic causes of ecological devastation and particularly their impact on the poor of the world.

For those who naively dismiss liberation theology as an offshoot of Marxism, Boff is critical alike of the failures of state socialism (ch. 4, pp. 93-108) and of the triumph of capitalism (ch. 6, pp. 123-130). This book is a provocative introduction to a holistic and integrated theology. There is also a "radical", as Boff describes it, development of "the balance between sexuality and spirituality" (ch. 9, pp. 163-179), where the author calls us to "be in sympathy and alignment with the summons issued by reality as a whole" (p. 179). The book concludes on a note of "expectancy" (p. 180), as the people of God, the poor of the world, await the coming of Jesus Christ – their only true source of hope and joy and life.

Yet it is not so much the words of Leonardo Boff that alone are inspiring. It is predominantly his *silence*. It is this depth of silence that allows him to identify with Francis of Assisi (pp. 52-54) and to draw from the well of "mystery and mysticism" (ch. 8, pp. 139-162).

Michael Cromartie (ed.), *Creation at Risk? Religion, Science, and Environment*. Grand Rapids MI: W. Eerdmans, 1995, 166 pages.

One of the major difficulties in the exchange in dialogue between faith and science is the unwillingness sometimes on both sides to listen. Thus on an issue such as environmentalism, theological discourse can often remain too theoretical, while scientific information frequently proves too technical. The problem becomes still more profound when theologians fail to affect the general lifestyles of society, while scientists fail to agree about the meaning of the available data.

This book comprises the papers and responses from experts in political science, religion, economics, and environmental science. It marks the twenty-fifth anniversary of Earth Day (1995). In all, ten scholars and ac-

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Archimandrite Vasileios, *Ecology and Monasticism*. Montreal: Alexander Press, 1996, 21 pages.

This booklet is part of a series which will be reviewed separately and collectively. The author is already known to the English-speaking world with the translation (by E. Briere-Theokritoff) of his *Hymn of Entry* (St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1984). This particular text was delivered as a lecture at the Orthodox Academy of Crete (in 1991) during the Inter-Orthodox Conference on Environmental Protection. The proceedings and talks at that conference appeared in a book entitled *So that God's Creation Might Live*, which is reviewed above. The address by Fr. Vasileios was not included in that publication.

Fr. Vasileios symbolizes a tradition and represents a spirituality characteristic of the Holy Mountain, where he is now abbot of the large monastery of Iveron. Yet the tradition and spirituality of which he speaks are not restricted to a part of the Orthodox world, embracing rather the catholic Church. Reminiscent of the mind of the Church Fathers, Fr. Vasileios speaks and writes in an ecumenical – in the sense of all-embracing – manner, not in any elitist or exclusivist fashion. And it is this style that enables him to move beyond any condemnative attitude toward the world. In this respect, he has in recent years moved away from his more critical approach in *Hymn of Entry*.

Referring to his favorite writers – Isaac the Syrian, Symeon the New Theologian, and Gregory Palamas – and combining their writings with *Sayings* from the Desert Fathers and from the Athonite tradition, Fr. Vasileios develops the theme of simply “keeping the earth” (Gen. 2:15), in the same way as we are called to maintain and pass on sacred tradition.

Nowhere in Fr. Vasileios' writings do we encounter the danger of idealism that is so prevalent among Orthodox theologians, in regard to the environment. Fr. Vasileios avoids the temptation of seeing the contemporary ecological crisis as a Western phenomenon, or as a necessary result of our sinful Western culture. Our ecocrisis is not a Western problem, but a world-wide concern. And Mt. Athos too has been influenced by the explosive technological age, of which we are all children. This is most natural, because in assuming monastic tonsure, Athonite monks inevitably bring with them the age that has created and conditioned them. They cannot reject this or leave it at the foot, so to say, of the Holy Mountain. The process of “renunciation” is a slow and painful ascetic struggle that confronts them – as indeed it does us – throughout life.

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tivists explore – and clash over – some of the scientific, religious, moral, philosophical, economic, and political claims advanced by contemporary environmentalists.

Charles Rubin recommends, “grass roots action” rather than attempts to “save the earth”; Andrew Kimbrell disagrees about the “roots” of the “green problem.” Patrick Michael discusses how forecasts of “global warming” have led to expensive policies; Christopher Flavin chides him for being complacent. Gregg Easterbrook celebrates environmental legislation and activism; Ronald Bailey argues that free-market affluence enables such activism. Thomas Derr declares that nature has no “intrinsic value or rights” which are confined to human beings; James Nash disagrees and urges humans to be more “altruistic predators;” Peter Hill weighs the relative merits of governmental action; Andrew Steer argues that private solutions must be focused on the common good.

This book is primarily, indeed exclusively, Protestant in approach and content. Yet it signifies the strength of Evangelical witness in ethics and public policy. It also reminds us as Orthodox of the responsibility to articulate appropriate responses and adequate, practical ways of living which redress the ecological imbalance in our world. One way of doing this is by cooperating with other Christians and listening to their concerns. It is a kind of “ecumenical” attitude, simply because we all share the earth on which we walk. It is unacceptable that a book like this, which covers such a broad range of concern – from religion to science and the environmental – almost completely ignores Roman Catholic and Orthodox thought.

Nonetheless, this is an important work that debates the manifold politics and perils that surround our endeavors to become better stewards of God’s creation.

David G. Hallman (ed.), *Ecotheology*, Maryknoll NY: Orbis Books and Geneva: World Council of Churches; 1994, 316 pages.

The result of the United Nations “Earth Summit” in Brazil (1992), this book contains important and challenging essays by more than two dozen contributors. Although it presents “voices from south and north”, it is in fact an example of how the fundamental questions of lifestyle and Christian witness in the face of threats to the survival of humanity and our planet transcend “north and south dialogue” (see the Introduction).

There is an *ecumenical*, in the sense of inter-confessional and inter-

religious, urgency about these questions. The five sections of this book cover biblical witness, theological challenges, ecofeminist insights, indigenous cultures, and ethical implications.

Contributors include renowned scholars (such as Rosemary Radford Ruether, and Leonard Boff) and ecumenical leaders (the Orthodox essay is written by Fr. Milton Efthimiou, Director of the Department of Church and Society, and Ecumenical Officer of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese in the U.S.A.). It is pleasing to read a sincere and articulate Orthodox contribution.

Among the most stimulating chapters, for me, were the chapters of the final section on social ecology (L. Boff), sustainable development (D. Hallman), and population (C. Keller).

It becomes clear, in a work such as this, that Christian Churches cannot face issues of the environment in isolation, but they must address the theological and ethical dimensions in cooperation.

Dieter T. Hessel (ed.), *Theology for Earth Community*. Maryknoll NY: Orbis Books, 1996, 292 pages.

Prominent scholars across the fields of theological education contribute essays to this volume in response to the environmental challenge. Biblical studies, Systematic Theology, Social Ethics, Practical Theology, Spiritual Formation, and Liturgy are brought to bear upon eco-justice thought and action. Writers include Mary Evelyn Tucker, George Tinker, Manning Marable, Kosuke Koyama, Catherine Keller, Diane Jacobson, Thomas Hoyt, and Theodore Hiebert.

The editor of these chapters/essays is director of the ecumenical Program on Ecology, Justice and Faith at Princeton. He has clearly succeeded in relating an inter-disciplinary approach and providing a comprehensive theological "field guide", but the endeavor is less ecumenical than it might have been. The same holds true for the extensive bibliography (pp. 269-292), although there is reference to Mar Paulos Gregorios. One reason for this may be that these essays evolved from papers delivered at a conference at Union and Auburn Theological Seminaries in New York.

The contributions deal with practical matters, such as population, consumption, and justice; teaching models and spirituality. And there is an interesting paper (by Eilon Schwartz) on "Jewish theology and the environmental crisis" (pp. 53-63).

This is an important book for theological educators, institutional leaders, and individual Christians.

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A.J. Lachance and J.E. Carroll (eds.) *Embracing Earth: Catholic Approaches to Ecology*. Maryknoll NY: Orbis Books, 1994, 280 pages.

The essays in this book constitute the Roman Catholic voice expressing its ecological concern. With the exception of the first chapter, contributed by a Jewish theologian, the various chapters are written by Catholic representatives of ecological thought, spirituality, and life. While the background is common, originating in the ancient and rich tradition of Catholicism, the approaches are different, varying from the highly mystical to the rigorously analytical. In fact, one of the surprises of this book, from the perspective at least of an Orthodox reader, lies precisely in the various degrees of ideological and theological shade.

All articles, however, invite the reader to respond to the ecological crisis in some way: whether through a mystical, Scriptural, biological, cosmological, or philosophical impulse. And it is not simply the general parameters that are addressed, but the concrete issues as well. Questions such as human reproduction (ch. 4), traditional (ch. 10-13, 17) and contemporary ecological models (ch. 14); a provocative chapter on "verbal pollution" (ch. 15), and a practical contribution for parish renewal (ch. 16); these, and a particularly challenging paper on ascetic theology (ch. 18), provide insight and inspiration on a comprehensive scale.

Perhaps the most influential and outspoken Roman Catholic theologian, Thomas Berry, has in the past often reminded us how church authorities, denominational universities, and even vocational seminaries have displayed an amazing insensitivity to this most urgent of all issues that confronts humanity. In an introductory statement to this book, Berry reminds the church of its unique opportunity and immense responsibility for the fate of the earth. He writes: "My question is: After we burn our lifeboat, how will we stay afloat? What will then be the need of religion, Christianity, or the church?...The splendor and beauty of the natural world in all its variety must be preserved if any worthy idea of the divine is to survive in the human community."

Embracing the earth is part and parcel of our vocation to embrace the mystery and beauty of the divine. Being true to our heavenly call also implies remaining faithful to the earth.

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Ethics After Christendom: Toward an Ecclesial Christian Ethic by Vigen Guroian. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1994. Pp. 206.

One cannot help but be disturbed by the dearth of Eastern Orthodox publications addressing the changing religious atmosphere of American democracy. While few theologians deny the importance of these changes—especially at a time when eastern European countries are looking westward for new political structures—few have responded with critical theological analysis. Vigen Guroian is one of the exceptions. In *Ethics After Christendom*, Dr. Guroian elevates several of the most crucial themes facing Christians in America and offers thoughtful reflection. In doing so, he draws on the spiritual panoply of the eastern Christian tradition. Liturgical texts and worship, patristic writings, doctrine, scriptures, historical texts, and even Byzantine art respond to issues including secularism, cultural pluralism, nationalism, family, the environment, and end of life decisions as Guroian develops his 'Ecclesial Christian Ethic.' Guroian's thoughts escape simple categorization. He confirms with hope that "the churches and cultures of the Christian East managed to escape the full impact of the Enlightenment" (p. 6) while questioning simultaneously both the possibility and the fecundity of adhering to Constantinianism. He notes the corrosiveness of radical individualism and its privatization of religion, but then demonstrates the compromising nature of a state church. He is critical of those who teach only "withdrawal from the world," yet he cautions churches who are "tempted to become involved in the culture wars." (p. 87)

Of particular significance to the Eastern Orthodox reader is Guroian's critique of ethics *during* Christendom. Citing T.S. Eliot, Guroian cautions against apocalyptic imaginations of a 'golden age of virtue' and reminds us, throughout his book, of the distortions such a regime generated. Guroian's discussion of Armenian nationalism in chapter 5 serves as an example. In it, Guroian outlines several of Christendom's distortions and dangers as they are manifested in a contemporary context and reminds all Christians that the church must remain true to both its catholic and eschatological nature.

While Guroian's claim is not to develop a comprehensive or new ethic, he is quite successful in guiding the reader "toward an ecclesial ethic." In some ways, Guroian is calling for a return to a pre-Constantinian focus. His emphasis throughout the text is upon liturgy,

ecclesial community, and a Christian identity which is conscious of its sharp distinctiveness. Guroian frequently cites Fr. Alexander Schmemmann and links the contemporary crisis of faith to "the privatization and disintegration of Christian worship." (p. 38) He also builds upon Will Herberg's analysis of America as a "triple melting pot" where "both the 'religionists' and the 'secularists' cherish the same basic values and organize their lives on the same fundamental assumptions." (pp 83-4) For example, in his discussion of "Family and Christian Virtue," Guroian states that American culture promotes thinking of the Christian family "as merely a church-going version of any of a number of comfortable and idealized sitcom families." (p. 135) His chapters on ecology and end of life ethics, while limited in their scope, offer fresh approaches which draw heavily from Byzantine and Armenian liturgical texts.

Ethics After Christendom would be worth studying for the sole reason that its author seeks to integrate the contemporary American and Eastern Orthodox ethical traditions. Yet it offers much more. Through his thoughtful analysis, Guroian engages and leads the reader to ponder some of the foremost issues which have arisen as Christians struggle for the soul of the church in a world after Christendom.

Perry Hamalis

The Cappadocians by Antony Meredith. Crestwood NY: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1995. Pp. xiv +129.

This attractive little book is not, as it claims, the only recent book in English devoted to the Cappadocian Fathers: until this book appeared, Jaroslav Pelikan had been able to make that claim for several years with the book of his recent Gifford Lectures, *Christianity and Classical Culture*, which was devoted to the great Cappadocians, amongst whom he included a 'Cappadocian mother', Saint Macrina, the elder sister of the brothers Basil and Gregory. But it is none the less welcome and treats the Cappadocian Fathers from a rather different perspective than that of Pelikan.

The first two chapters set the scene, introducing us to Cappadocia and the changes it underwent in the fourth century, as well as to the roots of Cappadocian theology in Plato and the great Alexandrian theologian, Origen. All this is done compellingly and economically,

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Father Georges Florovsky's Vision of Ecumenism

GEORGE HUNTSTON WILLIAMS

INTRODUCTION

My loyal friend of many years and my Boston Theological Institute colleague (who has preceded me in this evening's program), Dr. George Bebis, has indeed paid me a gracious tribute both in Greek and in English. In his spirited presentation he has presupposed a Neo-Patristic Synthesis in the life quest (*podvig* "exploit of the spirit") of Fr. Georges Florovsky and he has sought to relate it to Orthodox theology. I am pleased to be so closely yoked with Dr. Bebis in this first evening of common assignment to assess the achievement of so eminent a personage (implicitly from an Orthodox and now a pan-Protestant perspective) and to have been invited by the Holy Cross organizers of this academic festivity to speak of one who was also a major figure in my own life and ecumenical thought.

Professor Florovsky was at Harvard Divinity School from 1954 to 1965, and during his last three years he was with us also as an associate of the Slavic Department. As the main body of Slavica at Harvard is housed in the Widener Library, he frequented its stacks and often called on me in my principal study there. It was always against regulations to smoke in the library and there were smoke detectors in each study to assure professorial compliance. Fr. Florovsky was, as some of you remember, an inveterate smoker, which is just one ratchet down from being a chain-smoker. Several times I diffidently reminded him of the regulation. He may never even have heard me. In any event, he never heeded my subdued remonstrations. Eventually I improvised an ashtray out of the top of a typewriter ribbon case and discretely placed this in front of him to catch the ashes. Anxiously, with a sweep of my arm, I would break up from time to time the

bigger puffs of his smoke before they could ascent to the ceiling detector. After he withdrew from an hour or so of learned discourse, I would dispose as quickly as possible of the evidence of his infraction. I still have in my desk drawer that reddish top, scarred with hot cigarette butts – a veritable relic of his ardent exposition of Orthodoxy! I am pleased to report further that, given the imperious majesty of his mind and my own intense appreciation of its unfolding before me, the smoke detector never went off; and my privilege of Orthodox tutelage from the master of his age was never cut short!

My wife and I were often in his Cambridge apartment for dinner. The Florovskys were occasionally also in my home beyond Cambridge. My children still have a vivid recollection of him.

We have indeed another memento of the Florovskys, an icon of St. George. It was painted by Xenia Ivanovna Florovskaia, who in the canonically prescribed delineation made a slight accommodation to my sensibilities about cruelty to animals by her minimizing the flow of blood from the speared dragon, and she presented it to me on my Orthodox name day at a festivity in our house, while another guest, His Grace Bishop Athenagoras Kokkinakis of Thyatira (Rev. 2.18), intoned the traditional prayer of consecration of an icon in an Orthodox home. To be sure, I never risked asking either His Grace or the Florovskys whether the prayer was, in fact, a fully canonical emplacement. I preferred discrete ignorance. This icon still has, of course, an honored place in my living room.

When the time came for Professor Florovsky to leave Harvard, I prepared the tribute that would evolve as the final paragraph of my long piece on him in your *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* in 1965. It was to have been presented in his honor at the farewell planned in Jewett House, the Dean's residence. But Fr. Florovsky was so upset that at his retirement he had not been immediately accorded by the Harvard Corporation the rank of professor *emeritus* that the Florovskys declined to be present at the event. I read the tribute to the assembled colleagues in his absence. He later appreciatively acknowledged receipt of a copy. The very next day I ascertained that in the history of universities the dignity of "professor *emeritus*" was not in origin a matter of venerable academic routine but rather the consequence of a formal faculty vote on the worthiness of a retiring colleague to be confirmed by the governing boards. Florovsky was indeed our professor *emeritus* by faculty consensus, even if not immediately by the action of the Harvard Corporation, which was statutorily inhibited by the terms of his original appointment late in the world theologian's career.

Thus it is wholly proper that in all of the by now 14 volumes of his translated *Collected Works*, as put out under the general editorship of Richard S. Haugh,¹ he is prominently and properly identified as "Emeritus Professor of Eastern Church History, Harvard University." Regularly repeated in most volumes is the long quotation from the Harvard Faculty Minute, published in the *Harvard Gazette*, 1 October 1982.²

When I wrote on his "American career"³ in your *Review*, I was of course unaware of the later assessment of him by his successor as Dean of St. Vladimir's Orthodox Theological Seminary, Alexander Schmemmann. The now departed Dean Schmemmann dedicated the special issue of the Theological Quarterly to Fr. Florovsky.⁴ Writing *In Memoriam*, Schmemmann acknowledged that Fr. Florovsky failed in the end "to clarify and explain what he meant by the 'Neo-Patristic synthesis'" and "that the historian in him seems to have been more articulate than the theologian."⁵ As this "Neo-Patristic synthesis" and also, Fr. Florovsky's conception of "tradition" have close bearing on his ecumenical vision, my topic this evening, it is well to

¹ Richard S. Haugh, through the now extinguished Nordland Publishing Company in Belmont and the ongoing Büchervertriebsanstalt in Vaduz (1974-1989). This project has not been completed.

² The originator of the translation series was R. S. Haugh. He originally anticipated a final volume of writings and another of index and chronologically arranged bibliography.

³ "George Vasilievich Florovsky," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 11:1 (1965) 7-107, revised as "The Neo-Patristic Synthesis of Georges Florovsky (1897-1979)," *The Ecumenical World of Orthodox Civilization: Essays in Honor of Georges Florovsky*. Ed. by Thomas Bird and Andrew Blaine (The Hague: Mouton, 1974) vol. 1. Translated into Greek with an introductory essay by Athanasios Papathanassiou (Athens: Ekdoseis Parousia, 1989). A compact version of my study appears under the same title in the profusely illustrated and altogether inspiring work of Andrew Blaine, editor, *Georges Florovsky: Russian Intellectual: Orthodox Theologian* (Crestwood, NY, 1993) 287-341, along with the Editor's sketch of the Life and Marc Raeff's "Enticements and Rifts" and a complete bibliography. Raeff places Florovsky (as markedly indifferent to social history, whether in the context of pre-Revolutionary Russia or in exile in Europe or America) in the context of the intellectual history of Russia, especially from Alexander Herzen to 1917. Raeff illuminates Florovsky's distinctive recognition of the recurrently "single spiritual and unifying source" of the "exploit of the spirit" (*podvig*), by the Fathers of Byzantium. Understanding history as the grand recital of "the heroic search, the feat of freely and passionately outliving of sin," he shows how, for Fr. Florovsky, history "is not a fatalistic development of inborn elements, but an exploit, an infinite series of free miraculous touchings of divine glory, miraculous encounters of man with God" (257). Raeff shows the valor and pertinacity of Fr. Florovsky in his detection of the enticements of the Catholic West in all the consequent rifts in the Russian soul from the period of the Counter-Reformation in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, of which Belarus and much of Ukraine were a part in the eighteenth century, through the resistance to the Petrine (Peter the Great) and Erastian Protestant mind that in such guises as Pietism and humanitarian Freemasonry made such inroads among the intelligentsia in the homeland of the Russian Orthodox Church.

⁴ Vol. 23: 3/4 (1979).

⁵ *Ibid.* 133. This tactful phrasing obscures to ecumenists beyond the many Orthodox

adduce also other words of the *In Memoriam* by the late Dean Schmemmann:

Every year in our catalog we reprint the words of our former Dean (Florovsky), spoken on the day of the Seminary's rededication as a pan-Orthodox graduate school of theology. He (Florovsky) said: 'A contemporary Orthodox theologian cannot retire into a narrow cell of some local tradition because Orthodoxy is not a local tradition but basically a universal one...' ⁶

It was always clear that while placing himself canonically directly under the Ecumenical Patriarch as of 1931, rather than under the, for him, highly suspect Moscow Patriarchate or the Russian Metropolia in exile, Florovsky regarded every ethnic or national Orthodox jurisdiction as a "local tradition" and always referred, in speaking of the Orthodox Church, to his unswerving fealty to the ancient Pentarchy of Patriarchs, including Rome. After the Schism of 1054, Florovsky had primarily, but not exclusively, in mind the Church of the first millennium before the ethnic/nationalist factors disturbed the equilibrium of Scripture and pan-Orthodox/Catholic Tradition. By Tradition, of course, he meant what, outside Scripture, was received by the first Seven Ecumenical Councils and in due course approved by the Christophorous laity conjoined with their apostolic clergy. His was the christological conviction that the historic Body of Christ could not be riven any more than the two Natures of Christ, as defined by the Council of Chalcedon, could be separated from the one divine hypostasis or person of Christ. ⁷

PHASES IN THE ECUMENICAL VISION OF FATHER FLOROVSKY

Fr. Florovsky may have been more exclusively "ecumenical" while he still made his home in the Old World. In the New World, immediately surrounded with friends and ecumenically motivated Protestants and others whom he would have considered sectarian in Europe, he may have been slightly disoriented to make a pun, by his New World friends and Old World foes.

In reflecting on the massive literary deposit of his thought, and especially of his ecumenical/ecclesiological thought and action, I ascertain with diffidence that Florovsky was more hopeful about reunion, of at least some

jurisdictions the fact that Fr. Florovsky was in fact dismissed from St. Vladimir's. He could not accept the option of being under the Patriarch of Moscow through the eventually autocephalous (1970) Orthodox Church of America or under the monarchist Orthodox Church Abroad (Outside Russia), founded in Yugoslavia, with its eventual headquarters as of 1950, in Holy Trinity Monastery in Jordanville, NY. Fr. Florovsky stood under the Ecumenical Patriarch, but, see n. 8.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Cf. Christoff Künkel, *Totus Christus, die Theologie Georges V. Florovskys* (Göttingen, 1991).

of the episcopally governed churches, at the beginning of his ecumenical career than he was toward the end.

But I do not agree with certain of his students and critical interpreters among the Orthodox, the so-called Traditionalists, that at the end of his career at Princeton University, he would become "an outspoken supporter of the moderate Old Calendarist movement in the Church of Greece and expressed open support for certain Bishops of the Russian Orthodox Church abroad," and that he would regard the movement that engaged so much of his time as, in the end, degenerating into "*Anarchical Ecumenism*."⁸

It is my observation that at Amsterdam in 1948, standing alongside very few other figures of the Orthodox world, Fr. Florovsky was tactically and hence emotionally more retrenched in his ecclesiology than before World

⁸These are phrases from an essay by Harvard-educated private scholar Dr. Constantine Cavarnos, "Father Georges Florovsky on Ecumenism," which appeared serially in *Orthodox Tradition* 12 (1991) 2,3,4 and separately in the monographic supplement, No. 7 (Etna, CA: St. Gregory Palamas Monastery, 1992) 4-15. See also the even earlier and much more critical interpretation by Archimandrite Chrysostomos (with a Ph.D. from Princeton) and the Rt. Rev. Auxentios (with a Th.D. from the Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley), "A Tragedy of Orthodox Theology: In Memoriam Father Georges Vasilievich Florovsky (1893-1979)," *The Orthodox World* 18 (1980) 237-42. The above quoted passages are, of course, from eminent scholars, in one case well known to the present writer, but the allegedly "outspoken" support of moderate Old Calendarists and "certain of the Bishops of the (in one case neo-Tsarist) Russian Church abroad" must be given an interpretation consonant with Florovsky's seminal essay "Empire and Desert," below nns. 11, 25.

The plenary intent of the life and works of Fr. Florovsky must be congruent with all that he faced. It can only be conjectured how he might have counseled the Orthodox in their homelands, freed of communism, notably in Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus. As the successor Orthodox Churches agonize over polity amid unprecedented disarray and yet wholly unexpected opportunity for a fresh mission in Eurasia and the world, one may well anticipate renewed appreciation of the younger Florovsky's exploration of "Orthodox ecumenism" in now a new time and in unanticipated space. It is true that the aforementioned archimandrite, now Bishop Chrysostomos of Etna, perseveres in many of his strictures. In his grave comment on Fr. Florovsky, taking notice of Blaine's book on him (1993), Bishop Chrysostomos in "Protopresbyter Georges Florovsky," *Orthodox Tradition* (Etna, CA) 11:2 (1994) 28-29, makes four substantial criticisms of Florovsky while characterizing the book by Blaine as "a comprehensive and generally accurate biography." These four points are that Fr. Florovsky would have been displeased by the dedication of the new library at St. Vladimir's in his honor; that at Princeton he never concelebrated with the clergy of the Orthodox Church in America; and on the occasion of the visit of a Patriarchal delegation there Florovsky pointedly chose to sit with the audience in the university chapel; that "in his later years, Florovsky was in some sense 'anti-ecumenical'"; and finally, that after leaving Harvard for Princeton he came more and more to be empathetic with the Old Calendarists among the Greeks and, among the Russians, with the monarchist Church Abroad. It seems likely, however, that the writings and acts of the younger Florovsky will be reassessed in the glare and in the flow of a reemergent and valiant Orthodoxy in all the lands once ruled by Stalin. Fr. Florovsky held to the recurrence of fullness of time (kairos) and the importance of historical and historiographical reflection.

War II, and that after clinching in the Toronto Statement of 1950 his stringent ecclesiological requirement for any further Orthodox and even, providentially, Roman Catholic participation in the ecumenical dialogue, he moved on to an eschatological displacement of his hope for reunion. I shall touch on these three phases selectively and out of chronological order.

His Ecumenical Stance at Amsterdam, 1948

In the same aforementioned commemorative issue of *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly*, W. A. Visser 't Hooft contributed a short account of "Fr. Georges Florovsky's Role in the Formation of the WCC,"⁹ from which clear reflections of my own on his Ecumenical Vision may with some authority begin.

The first secretary of the World Council of Churches (WCC), recalling in 1979 the early days, noted that Fr. Florovsky at the First Assembly in Amsterdam in 1948, reporting for his Section I on "The Universal Church in God's Design," described the deepest difference between the churches as one between the ecclesiology of "the apostolic succession" and that of "the gathered church." However, after open debate on the report, the Assembly chose, under the influence notably of Karl Barth of Basel and Archbishop Michael Ramsey of York, to use instead the only roughly counterpart terminology of "Catholic" and "Protestant." Florovsky would in future usually conform to this usage, but his many ecumenical reflections in church-historical essays make clear how fundamental for him and his ecumenical vision was his own original distinction made and rejected in Amsterdam. I think Fr. Florovsky's original schema was, in fact, truer to the situation, for most of the classical Protestant reformers, and particularly the Lutherans, regarded themselves as indeed continuators of a reformed *Catholic* territorial church. (The Lutheran Church of Sweden actually preserved the succession in its undisturbed medieval episcopal sees.) Yet many of the member "churches" of the WCC in 1948, and ever increasingly with new membership, have been, in fact, heirs of various degrees of radicality in the sense of a restorationist recovery of presumed ancient norms. Thus breaking away from the very principle of a territorial-magisterial church, these denominational families of self-disciplining churches and companies gathered in covenant or mutually confirming ex-

⁹ *St Vladimir's Quarterly*, op cit., 135-38. Partly because he was taken up in the ecumenical dialogue, he was not to make "new and original contributions" to Russian intellectual history after his completion of his polemical *Ways* of 1937, according to his intellectual interpreter, Marc Raeff, 278.

perience of the free-flowing Spirit, ranging from Baptist to Pentecostalist.¹⁰

One could, but I think incorrectly, infer that by implication Fr. Florovsky, the upholder of the Orthodox Church in the apostolic succession of its bishops and also in its liturgy and credal formularies, understood “the gathered churches” as, in fact, sects that might better be excluded from serious ecumenical negotiation. But I think, when he occasionally conceded that it might be better for some so-called “member churches” to depart from the Council, he had as much in mind some state-churches, whose polity in his eyes usurped the headship of Christ over each local church and the greater Church. In his frequent defense of the ascetic tradition in Christianity, over against the programmatic disparagement of monasteries by, e.g. Luther and Calvin,¹¹ Fr. Florovsky had considerable empathy for the self-disciplining sectarian groups that in their modern denominational manifestations are known as Moravian Brethren, Mennonites, or Methodists, but who at their inception represented the reinstatement of the ascetic ideal and its stress upon sanctification that the classical Reformers renounced, indeed almost denounced, in their stress upon justification and salvation *sola gratia* without heed to good works.

From Amsterdam, Fr. Florovsky is remembered vividly by the surviving participants as having given two major addresses besides his aforementioned report (for Section I), namely, “The Church: Her Nature and Task”¹² and “Ecumenical Aims and Doubts.”¹³

‘In the second, appropriating without further ado the term that won out over his own “apostolicity,” Florovsky observed: “The *catholicity* of the Church is never broken by human secession, but, [to be sure,] her universality is compromised by the unhappy divisions [a WCC euphemism]. Christian provincialism – ‘the Protestantism of a local tradition,’ to use the phrase of Vladimir Soloviev – is no less a failure than a doctrinal error.”¹⁴ Here, with just a trace of malice and under the guise of adducing a major nineteenth-century Russian ecclesiologist, Fr. Florovsky allowed “Protes-

¹⁰The term “gathered” goes back to Professor Harris Franklin Rall of Garrett Theological Seminary, for whom the counterpart term was “the given church.” See, “The Church: Given or Gathered?” *Journal of Christendom* 4:2 (1939) 164-173.

¹¹“Reflections on the Critique [of the Ascetic Ideal and the New Testament] in the Theology of the Reformation,” *Collected Works* X 17-59; which is identical with “Reformation Theology and the New Testament,” *Collected Works* XIII 102-35; see further at n. 25 “Empire and Desert” (1957).

¹²*The Universal Church in God's Design*, I (SCM Press, 1948); reprinted in *Collected Works* I 57-72.

¹³*Sobornost*, *Journal of the Society of St. Alban and St. Sergius*, series 3:4 (1978) 126-32; reprinted in *Collected Works* XXIII 22-27.

¹⁴*Collected Works* XIII 24f.

tant,” enforced upon the Assembly in preference to his own “gathered church,” to stand for territorial or state-established Christianity. While contending that this “local” or “Protestant [even when nominally *Orthodox*] local tradition” must give way to “the ultimate goal – the true restoration of Christian unity in faith and charity,” Fr. Florovsky was clear that this “ultimate unity can come only from above, as a free gift of Almighty God.”¹⁵ And while looking for that gift of unity from God, he was explicit that “no Christian reunion can be achieved unless Rome can be included” – not “the present Rome, but the truth and heritage for which Rome stood and still stands....”¹⁶ He would eventually comment hopefully, yet critically, and enormously well informed, on Vatican II.¹⁷

He held in 1948 that “no ‘consensus’ is now possible,” that no power could be ascribed to the Assembly “to legislate for the church,” for that would be “to go beyond the walls [historic and doctrinal] of partition [cf. Eph. 2:14].” He would insist on this again in the Toronto Statement of 1950, which, for its constitutional core, he primarily drafted. While he understood well that “*some* kind of Christian cooperation, *some* coalition of Christian forces is badly needed if we are to meet both the challenge of the ‘rival gospels’ and the need of the changing world as Christians,” he felt strongly that “this applied Christianity is the greatest temptation in the whole of human history, now as ever.” He warned the Assembly that “the Christian standard is not strategy but truth,” and that it would be “an absurd situation if Christians would have been at one in secular unessentials and still be at variance in essentials.”¹⁸

In his other major Amsterdam address, “The Church: Her Nature and Task,”¹⁹ Fr. Florovsky acknowledged that in the Fathers there was no “*doctrine* of the Church precisely because the glorious *reality* of the Church was open to their spiritual vision.”²⁰ In that period of a less divided Christendom the “Church was both the People and the City” in an “organic unity of Christians,” West and East. Fr. Georges always cited the Latin Fathers and the Greek-writing Fathers of the West with mastery of the sources, including the Augustinian corpus,²¹ which he conceded was regrettably never very much taken into Eastern Orthodox thought. In any

¹⁵ Collected Works XIII 26.

¹⁶ Collected Works XIII.

¹⁷ “On the Upcoming Council of the Roman Catholic Church,” originally in Russian in *Vestnik russkogo khristianskogo dovizheniia* 52:1 (Paris, c.1960) 5-10; reprinted in translation in Collected Works XIV 202-206.

¹⁸ Collected Works XIII 24.

¹⁹ Collected Works II 57-72.

²⁰ Collected Works II 57.

²¹ “St. Cyprian and St. Augustine,” Collected Works XIV 48-51; see also below, n. 43.

ecumenical career, postulated an experienced ecclesial unity of several tongues and nations in the ancient imperial phase of Christian history. But at the end of that very address he simply said: "[T]he King has come, the Lord Jesus; and His Kingdom *is to come*."²² This is his conclusion; namely, that the disunity, however it is to be debated, is henceforth to be fully overcome only in an eschatological event. Stated otherwise, the regnant radical disparateness of Christian groupings after the first millennium, in effect, "simply has no historical solution ... the true solution would transcend history, it belongs to the 'age to come.'"²³ And yet he also held out at Amsterdam and afterward the hope that the Pauline conception of the Body of Christ as experienced in the dynamic "organism," which was the early Church, might provide a "solid ground for a modern theological synthesis," in which Christ is again experienced organically as "the Head and Center" in "a sacred community, which is intrinsically 'not of this world,' not even of 'this aeon,' but of the 'age to come.'"²⁴

This same address at Amsterdam had a final section on "Historical Antinomies," which would later be enlarged as a major article, "Antinomies of Christian History: Empire and Desert," appearing in your *Review* in 1957.²⁵ We may allow this latter exfoliation of his brief section on "Antinomies" at Amsterdam to clarify what seems to me, after reading extensively in his *Collected Works*, to be the best clue to what he intended at Amsterdam when he first proposed the dichotomy of "gathered" and "apostolic" church. The fundamental antinomy in Church history, he said then, "is rooted in the practical alternative which the Church had to face from the beginning of its historical pilgrimage:"

Either the Church was to be constituted as an exclusive and "totalitarian"²⁶ society, endeavoring to satisfy all requirements of the believers, both "temporal" and "spiritual," paying no attention to the existing order and leaving nothing to the external world –

like the hermits and monks in the ancient world, presumably also the

²² *Collected Works* II 72.

²³ *Collected Works* II 71.

²⁴ *Collected Works* II 60. In this context and elsewhere Florovsky was against an effort to conceive of the Church as the embodied Holy Spirit. His ecclesiology is always Christocentric and not Pneumatocratic, hence, no doubt, his reserve about Pentecostals.

²⁵ *Collected Works* II 67-100.

²⁶ Fr. Florovsky was intermittently ironic and polemical and in the latter mood he could force, as here, an unpopular word to make the antinomies clear. Here, he was contrasting in their inward and communal self-discipline monks, friars, sectaries, and self-regardless witness to the faith, to Christians caught up into wholly territorial, nationalistic totalitarianism, which in its Nazi and Fascist forms had been but recently vanquished in World War II.

profusion of Western monks and later friars, free of their bishops and almost free in many cases even of the Bishop of Rome, and, as I also surmise, like some of the “gathered churches” of the Reformation era and thereafter in the West, whose analogues in the British seventeenth century “reformation of the Reformation” and their latter-day representatives, Congregationalists, Baptists, and Quakers-²⁷

.....*Or* the Church could attempt an inclusive Christianization of the world, subduing the whole of life to Christian rule and authority, to reform and reorganize secular life on Christian principles, to build the Christian City.²⁸

For this latter motif in Church history Florovsky generally eschewed “totalitarianism,” with its powerful overtones from the epoch leading to World War II, although that is the import of his critique of all facile accommodations to political theology and to any self-sufficient eschatological sectarianism. Fr. Florovsky restated in the same presentation the two disparate and recurrent ways in which Christians over almost two millennia have felt one imperative or the other, or indeed both, in successive phases:

Either Christians ... ought to go out of the world, in which there is another Master besides Christ [cf. John 17] ... and in which the rule and the goal of life are other than those set out in the Gospel -to go out and to start a separate society [like the various Anabaptist communes in Moravia, Poland, and elsewhere in the sixteenth century]. *Or* ... Christians have to transform the outer world, to make it the kingdom of God as well, and introduce the principles of the Gospel into secular legislation.²⁹

He immediately went on: “There is an *inner consistency* in both programs. And therefore the separation of the two ways ... [T]he unity of the Christian task is [thus] broken.”³⁰ But then in the very next paragraph:

[A]gain each of the two programs is *self-contradictory*. There is an inherent sectarian temptation in the first [the “catholic” motif in the Christian message and purpose being obscured]. And [yet] all attempts at direct Christianization of the world ... have only led to the ... *secularization* of Christianity itself.³¹

Thus, already at Amsterdam in 1948, when his dichotomy of “gathered

²⁷ Interestingly, Dean Douglas Horton of Harvard Divinity School would be chairman of the Faith & Order Commission at its meeting in St. Andrews, Scotland in 1960 where Fr. Florovsky was a member of the North American Section of both the Commission on Christ and the Church and that on Tradition and Traditions.

²⁸ Collected Works II 70.

²⁹ Collected Works II 71.

³⁰ Ibid. 71.

³¹ Ibid. 72.

church" and "apostolic" ecclesiology was on vote replaced with "Protestant" and "Catholic," he nevertheless persisted in his basic insight. While generally conforming to the ecumenically approved ecclesial terminology, he still said in the later Amsterdam session then and many times thereafter in major essays and in his Faith and Order Commission interventions that the "reunion of the disparate schismatic churches, ecclesial bodies, and sects lay [and would lie] with the Lord of history in *to eschaton*, which does not mean [he noted in the same address] primarily *final*, in the temporal series of events ... [but] rather *ultimate/decisive* ... realized [provisionally] within the stress of historical happenings and events."³²

Florovsky's Ecumenical Vision before His Almost Lone Role at Amsterdam

In an invaluable essay, "Orthodox Ecumenism in the Nineteenth Century,"³³ Florovsky recalled,

that the great All-Russian Church Council (*Sobor*) of 1917-1918, in its very last meeting (September 20, 1918), passed the following resolution, upon the proposal of the Section on Union of the Christian Churches (Archbishop Eudokim of North America, chairman): "The Sacred Council of the Orthodox Russian Church, gladly seeing the efforts of the Old Catholics and Anglicans toward union with the Orthodox churches on the foundation of the doctrines and traditions of the Ancient Catholic Church, bestows its benediction on the labors and efforts of those who are seeking the way towards union with the above-named friendly Churches. The Council authorizes the Sacred Synod to organize a Permanent Commission with departments in Russia and abroad for this obstacles in the way of union, and for the furtherance, as much as possible, of the speedy attainment of the final aim."³⁴

Now although this quotation does, to be sure, indeed come directly from Fr. Florovsky in an article published in 1956, the research in Russian Church history and the stance of the expositor would seem to date it from the pre-World War II period.³⁵ It is my surmise that Florovsky in the first phase of his ecumenical career abroad, i.e., before the formative Assembly of the World Council, considered himself as functioning under the mandate of the *Sobor* that elected Patriarch Tikhon (1918-1925)³⁶ amid Revolution - 177 years after Peter the Great had abolished that office. Florovsky, in-

³² Ibid. 68.

³³ *St. Vladimir's Seminary Quarterly* 4:3-4 (1956) 2-33; reprinted in *Collected Works IV* 213-77.

³⁴ *Collected Works IV* 272.

³⁵ I acknowledge not having consulted the Florovskian corpus in the earlier version of this article.

³⁶ Basil Ivanovich Balavia (1860-1925) had been successively bishop of Lublin, North America (1898-1907), Yaroslav, Vilna, and Moscow.

177 years after Peter the Great had abolished that office. Florovsky, indeed, in his own words went on to comment as of 1956: "[T]he work of Russian theologians in Western Europe in the ecumenical field was in line with the desire and commendation of the Council."³⁷ This would have thus included both Fr. Florovsky and Sergei Bulgakov, the latter a very prominent lay member of the Moscow *Sobor*, who only afterwards was ordained and then made Dean of the Orthodox Theological Academy in Paris where Fr. Florovsky also taught. Now this word for "Council/Synod" gives us the Russian noun *sobornost*, which, especially for ecumenists who do not read or speak Russian, has almost a mystical resonance.

The term was introduced into Western ecumenical circles by Bulgakov. It is my surmise that, because of the mounting tension between Fr. Florovsky and Fr. Bulgakov, the former came to eschew the term and concept of *sobornost* and indeed long kept it from wide circulation in the WCC. We best understand Fr. Florovsky's ecclesiology and ecumenical vision by drawing closer to the history of this word and the growing antagonism between the two émigré priests, both of them also sons of priests.

The term *sobornost* from *sobor*, translated into Western languages by Fr. Bulgakov as *conciliarity*, by Fr. Florovsky as *communality*; and by both as well as by others, as *communion* and also *catholicity*, was a neologism even in Russian and comes out of Slavophile ecclesiological reflection.³⁸ Back in 1848, all the Orthodox Patriarchs had joined in encyclical directed at Pius IX, in which they affirmed against the papal magisterium that "the preservation of the faith resides in the whole body of the Church." Aleksy Khomiakov (d. 1860) saw in this Orthodox encyclical against Rome the foundation of his doctrine of conciliarity/*sobornost*.³⁹ In its adjectival form, *subornaia* it had long rendered into Russian the adjective *Catholic* in the Nicene Creed. *Sobornost* as a noun, at once intimating catholicity and unity in congregational depth, according to Khomiakov, was the specific mark of the Orthodox Church, which, through the action of the Holy Spirit, unites all the faithful in time and space in freedom, harmony, and love and so insures the indefectibility/infallibility of the Church.

Now since this word *sobornost* is so very important ecumenically, it must be remarked that it actually appeared only once and indeed in a post-humous letter of Khomiakov, *Lettre au rédacteur de l'Union chrétienne*

³⁷ Ibid. 272.

³⁸ Samuel Lannu, "Conciliarity," *Dictionary of the Ecumenical Movement*, ed. Nicholas Lossky et al., (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991). See also N. Lossky, "Orthodoxy," *ibid.*, 764-768, esp. 766; and Sergei Hackel, *Sobornost* 3:4 (1978) 924-926.

³⁹ N.V. Riassanovsky, "Khomiakov on Sobornost," *Continuity and Change in Russia and Soviet Thought*, ed. by E.J. Simons (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955).

(1814-1883) of a Russian noble family who, while in the diplomatic corps stationed in Paris, was converted from Orthodoxy to Catholicism by Gustave de Ravignan, S.J., and later joined the Jesuits in 1843. Gagarin took exception, over against Khomiakov, to the traditional Russian translation of "Catholic" as *sobornaia*.

It is thus evident that the beloved neologism entered ecumenical discussion after the Moscow Sobor of 1917/1918, originally trailing clouds of controversy and confessional antagonism. Nevertheless, Bulgakov, at the first Faith and Order meeting in Lausanne in 1927, tantalized the participants with his own conviction, dependent on Khomiakov, that "Russian theology expressed the fundamental essence of church unity with a word for which no other language has the equivalent." The Anglican-Orthodox Fellowship of St. Alban and St. Sergius, founded in the following year (1928), went so far in 1935 as to rename its journal *Sobornost*. In the preceding year its annual conference theme was "The Church of God" and for it Florovsky duly furnished a paper, "Sobornost: The Catholicity of the Church,"⁴⁰ but beyond the title Fr. Florovsky never mentioned *sobornost* once, turning his back on Khomiakov and Russian religious thought since the Reformation, which he regarded as a chain of "pseudomorphoses" under the impact of Protestant and Roman Catholic thought.⁴¹ The term *sobornost* (conciliarity, communality, catholicity) would not reenter the mainstream of ecumenical discussion until after Fr. Florovsky had begun to withdraw from active participation.⁴² Why did Fr. Florovsky come to resist the term he once himself employed with hope?

The answer appears to lie in the fact that for Fr. Bulgakov, who as noted, first gave the term currency in the West, *sobornost* was linked closely to his Pneumatology (cf. his *Le Paraclet*, posthumously, 1947) and his Sophiology (*The Wisdom of God*; English, 1937). We have already remarked that Fr. Florovsky's ecclesiology and hence his ecumenism was

⁴⁰ Reprinted without the Russian term in the title in *Collected Works* I 37-55. That Fr. Florovsky was fully aware of the recent origin of the term is indicated by his own reference to the Orthodox Encyclical of 1848, in which he gave emphasis to its recognition of the *laos* as the "guardian of piety" (*ibid.*, 53.)

⁴¹ All this theological development, which Fr. Florovsky renounced, is ably and quite objectively recounted by him in *The Ways of Russian Theology* (Paris: YMCA Press, 1937); English translation, *Collected Works* V and VI (1979).

⁴² In Louvain in 1971, the Faith and Order Commission began to authorize the study of conciliarity, understood as "the coming together of Christians - locally, regionally, globally - for common prayer, council, and decision in the belief that the Holy Spirit can use such meeting" (*Report* 225). The Salamanca consultation (1973) declared: "The one Church is to be envisioned as a conciliar fellowship of local churches." The statement was adopted at the Assembly in Nairobi in 1975.

Christocentric. He distrusted spiritualism and he felt that *sobornost*, whatever its possible merit, too strongly carried the Bulgakovian resonance of a Spirit-driven Church, of hypostatized Wisdom, different from the Logos incarnate in Christ, his sacramental (his adjective in preference is “mystical”) Body in time, being the Church.

The following is his Russian/English asseveration concerning the bounds of the Church as of 1933, that is 15 years before his intervention at Amsterdam:

[T]here are occasions when by the very form of her activity the Church brings one to understand that the sacraments of sectarians and even of heretics are valid, that the sacraments can be celebrated *outside the strict canonical limits of the Church*. The Church customarily receives adherents from sects and even from heresies *not by way of baptism*, obviously meaning or supposing that they have already been actually baptized in their sects and heresies.⁴³

I interrupt the passage here, all the more appropriately in the precincts of a Greek Orthodox seminary, to recall that at this moment in 1933 Fr. Florovsky had by then passed, in 1931, from under the Russian Metropolia to the direct jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarch. He did not at this moment elaborate for the Anglicans what he (and surely the historians among them) knew; namely, that in 1753 the Ecumenical Patriarch, alarmed at Latinate conversion from the Orthodox flocks in the Levant, imposed rebaptism on all converts to Orthodoxy from Rome and Canterbury within range of his decretum. Rebaptism up to World War II had thus set the Greek off from most Russian Orthodox usage but that in his day this national/ethnic exception was dealt with only casually by Khomiakov. But, to continue with Fr. Florovsky as of 1933, after he had chosen to come directly under (the preeminent) Greek jurisdiction:

In many cases the Church receives adherents even *without chrism* and sometimes even clerics *in their existing orders*, which must all the more be understood and explained as recognizing the validity or reality of the corresponding rites performed over them “outside the Church.” But, if sacraments are performed, it can only be by virtue of the Holy Spirit. Canonical rules establish or reveal a certain mystical paradox.

Fr. Florovsky, now under the Ecumenical Patriarchate, was still acting as a “broad churchman” in the Russian Orthodox tradition on the issue of

⁴³On Fr. Florovsky’s historical treatment of rebaptism, by the Russian Orthodox and, against their own canon, in the sixteenth century and in various places, see my English translation and annotated edition of Stanislas Lubienieki, *History of the Polish Reformation* (1985) in *Harvard Theological Studies* 34 (Cambridge, 1993).

rebaptism of schismatics and heretics. He wrote as he might have in the pre-Revolutionary Russian Orthodox tradition of his own priestly-professorial Russian Orthodox father. I continue (without gloss) the above long 1934 quotation from him:

In the form of her activity the Church bears witness to the extension of her mystical territory even beyond the canonical threshold: the "outside world" does not begin immediately. St. Cyprian [of Carthage, d. 258] was right: the sacraments are accomplished only *in* the Church. But he defined this in haste and too narrowly. Must we not come rather to the opposite conclusion? *Where the sacraments are accomplished, there is the Church.* St. Cyprian started from the silent supposition that *the canonical and charismatic limits of the Church invariably coincide.* And it is this unproven identification that has not been confirmed by the communal consciousness. As a mystical organism, as the sacramental Body of Christ, the Church cannot be adequately described in canonical terms of categories alone. It is impossible to state or discern the true limits of the Church simply by canonical signs or marks. Very often the canonical boundary also determines the charismatic boundary; what is bound on earth is bound by an indissoluble knot in heaven. But not always. ... [T]he love of God [often] overlaps and surmounts the failure of love in man. In the sects themselves and even among heretics the Church continues to perform her saving and sanctifying work. It may not follow, perhaps, that we should say, the schismatics are *still in the Church*; at all events this would not be very precise. It would be more accurate to say that the Church continues to perform her saving and sanctifying work in the schisms in expectation of the mysterious hour when the stubborn heart will be melted in the warmth of "preparatory grace," when the will and thirst for communality and unity [Florovsky renders *sobornost* with these two English words] will burst into flame and burn. The "validity" of the sacraments among schismatics is the mysterious guarantee of their return to Catholic plenitude and unity.⁴⁴

Part of this passage was quoted by John M. Erickson, canonist and Church historian at St. Vladimir's seminary, in support of his own view, and presumably of Florovsky, that the Church of Christ is greater than the canonical boundaries of any given Church.⁴⁵ And it is my view, too, that Fr. Florovsky,

⁴⁴ He goes on, expressly appealing to Augustine as the authentic interpreter of Cyprian and his *extra ecclesiam nulla salus*: "The sacramental theology of St. Augustine was generally not well known by the Eastern Church in antiquity. It also was not received by Byzantine theology, but not because they saw or suspected something alien or superfluous in it. ... In modern times the doctrine of the sacraments has been not infrequently expounded in the Orthodox East and Russia on a Roman model and there is still no creative appropriation of St. Augustine's conception. Contemporary Orthodox theology must express and explain the traditional canonical practice of the Church in relation to heretics and schismatics on the basis of those general premises which have been established by St. Augustine."

⁴⁵ *The Challenge of Our Past: Studies in Orthodox Canon Law and Church History*

however hard-pressed, in post-World II ecumenical encounters could, and would, never have revoked his often highly nuanced pre-Revolutionary, and especially his pre-Amsterdam, assertions about the sacramental Church, between the ages of twenty-four and fifty-five.

His Eschatological Ecumenism

Having then, before Amsterdam, been somewhat under the mandate of the Moscow Sobor to engage in the Anglican-Orthodox exchanges, at length Florovsky repudiated some of the language and concept of his own originally intra-Russian Orthodox *sobornost*. He appears to have been driven from it by his mounting distrust of its chief exponent abroad, Bulgakov. Florovsky, as we saw earlier, from his new American base, had to think ecclesologically in a much broader context than that of Anglican-Orthodox rapprochement.⁴⁶ In America he was coming ever more in contact with the denominational heirs of both the magisterial/classical and the radical/apostolic reformers of the sixteenth and of the British seventeenth century. He thus valiantly represented a very much narrowed Orthodox circle of theologians and churchmen at Amsterdam and vehemently defended the Orthodox Church as the true Church, or better: the witness to, and the bearer of that Church in tumultuous history to which other Christian bodies must in some way, at least theological, yield precedence and authority. For Christ, he implied, can have only one mystical Body in history; and this mysterious aspect of his presence does not legitimate any parity among the so-called parts, branches, or communions.⁴⁷

After having been a major figure in the founding of the World Council of Churches and remaining engaged therein to the end, Fr. Florovsky nevertheless came to place his hope more and more in some divine intervention, quite likely some unforeseen eventuality short of the Second Advent of Christ and the Last Judgment, to bring as many adherents of Christ as possible in closer fellowship if not in complete commonality (one of his terms, it will be recalled, for *sobornost*). Having been instrumental in safeguarding a place also for Roman Catholics in the World Council of Churches by the Toronto Statement of 1950 that he crafted, Fr. Florovsky

(Crestwood, NY St. Vladimir's Seminary Press 1991), kindly brought to my attention by Dr. Lewis Patsavos, in *ibid.* 28. It is not certain whether Erickson would lean toward my conjecture that Florovsky may indeed have been somewhat more cognizant of the vitality of sectors of the schismatic churches in relation to Orthodoxy in the period before Amsterdam than afterwards.

⁴⁶ See his marvelous survey of "Orthodox Ecumenism in the Nineteenth Century," *Collected Works* XIV110-63.

⁴⁷ "The Schism and the Branch Theory," *Collected Works* XIII 34f.

Churches by the Toronto Statement of 1950 that he crafted, Fr. Florovsky seems to this interpreter to have placed both the Orthodox Church along with the other less apostolically true churches and ecclesial bodies under a common judgment. He did this, while safeguarding his always reiterated claim that the Orthodox Church is the true Church, notably in his article, by its very location in a larger work, addressed to other Christians but to all Orthodox Christians as well, entitled: "The True Church is Not Yet The Perfect Church." This appeared with collected essays edited by Donald Baillie and John Marsh, *Confessional Loyalty in the Ecumenical Movement: Intercommunion* (London, 1952).⁴⁸ And as far back as the more sanguine days of 1933, while Florovsky was thinking mainly of the Anglicans, so near and yet so far, he was still already basically eschatological in his ecumenical vision when he said in his brief essay on the branch theory:

[If] reunification is fated to occur in history, then in any case this will be already in the eschatological twilight and the eve of the Second Coming (*Parousia*), for this will already be a forewarning and anticipation of our fates from the other world. Here much is unclear, and will be explained to all in prayerful vigil and ordeal.⁴⁹

Against his more comprehensive view of the Church as of 1933, and hence of the Orthodox Church in relation to other jurisdictions, is the well-considered statement by Fr. Florovsky, made by him under the auspices of the WCC, in the Orthodox Consultation, at Kifissia, near Athens, just prior to the meeting in Rhodes of the Central Committee in the summer of 1959:

...the Orthodox are bound to claim that the only "specific" or "distinctive" feature about their own position in "divided Christendom" is that the Orthodox Church is identical with the Church of all ages, and indeed with the "Early Church," *die Urkirche*. In other words, she is not *a* Church, but *the* Church.⁵⁰

I think we must interpret his post-World War II ecclesiastical intransigence, despite his hearty engagement in all sectors of ecumenical dialogue and even spiritual fellowship, as a consequence of his almost painful sense

⁴⁸ Christoff Künkel, an authority on the theology of Fr. Florovsky, makes of Fr. Florovsky's title the title of his own German essay on his ecumenism in Karl Christian Felsy *et al.*, eds., *Tausend Jahre Chrestentum in Russland: Zum Millennium der Taufe der Kiever Rus'* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988) 584-590.

⁴⁹ Collected Works XIII 35. He goes on to quote the commandment of Deutero-Paul in Heb. 13:13: "Let us go forth therefore with him [the sacrificed Christ] without the camp bearing his reproach. For here we have no abiding city, but rather we seek the coming one."

⁵⁰ "The Ethos of the Orthodox Church," *Orthodoxy: A Faith & Order Dialogue*, introduced by Keith R. Bridston, Faith & Order Paper No. 30 (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1960) 39.

the prevailing "ecumenism in space." His own Russian Orthodox Church had already suffered in 1721 almost as much a blow as in 1917, for Peter the Great in that year suppressed the Patriarchate of Moscow and replaced it with the Most Holy Governing Synod, often headed by a General of the Armies, the most egregious example of the Western Erastianism that the Emperor Peter had come to admire during his sojourn in the Netherlands. Erastianism is the very contrary of what Fr. Florovsky idealized as the Byzantine dyarchy. Moreover, as he surveyed the losses of the vast terrains of the ancient Patriarchal Pentarchy to Islam in three venerable sees, the loss of Christian suzerainty in the Ecumenical Patriarchal See itself, in 1453, and the coming of the Patriarchal See of Jerusalem itself, successively under Caliphs, Sultans, the British Mandate, and then the State of Israel, Fr. Florovsky, the historian of Christian dilemmas, looked ever more searchingly to the Eschaton for a definitive discrimination of the sheep and the goats. He could never look back on the successive efforts of Catholics, then Protestants, then Greek nationalists, at length his own Russian Slavophiles, like Khomiakov and Soloviev, as having laid down any seaworthy planks for a viable raft to save Christendom for the shipwreck of historic schisms and heresies. He had published a whole book on what he regarded as the "pseudomorphoses" in Russian ecclesiological thought.⁵¹ He deplored the extraordinary initiatives of several Ecumenical Patriarchs in reaching out to Protestants, because they overaccommodated in his scholarly view and theological conviction; and he was particularly critical of Metropolitan Peter Mohyla of Kiev for his Orthodox Confession of Faith (1643/1645), because it had assimilated altogether too much of Roman Catholic scholastic systematization and of Protestant, particularly Calvinist, reformulation of credal substance. Fr. Florovsky, to be sure, acknowledged proudly that his mastery of the Latin Fathers and even of the Schoolmen came from his training in the Russian Theological Academy, modeled on that of Metropolitan Mohyla in Kiev, hence with Latin as

⁵¹ *The Ways of Russian Theology*, Russian (Paris: YMCA Press, 1937, 1981) Pseudomorphosis is a term taken from minerology, a pseudomorph being a crystal of one mineral with the form of another, as Francis J. Thomson points out. The term gained historiographical resonance when used by Oswald Spengler in his two-volume *The Decline of the West* (Berlin, 1915/22, English, 1926/28). See his massive critique of Fr. Florovsky from the point of view of the Russian Catholic Church of Ukraine, "Peter Mogila's Ecclesiastical Reforms and the Ukrainian Contribution to Russian Culture: A Critique of Georges Florovsky's Theory of the 'Pseudomorphosis' of Orthodoxy," *Slavica Gandensia* 20 (1993) 99-119. The scholarly polemic concludes mordantly, "let [Nicholas] Berdyayev [Florovsky's Russian Orthodox friend/antagonist] have the last word. 'Fr. George Florovsky's book [*Puti* (1937)] has the wrong title, it should have been called 'The Waylessness of Russian Theology,' and in view of the broad scope of the book, even 'The Waylessness of Russian Religious Culture.' My own presentation was completed before it was possible to master his critique."

a language of instruction as well as of textual study as in his father's academy, for example, in Odessa. There is no doubt but that St. Cyprian, formulator of the theologoumenon: "Who has not Church for Mother, has not God for Father," and *Extra Ecclesiam nulla salus*, and St. Augustine, who, Fr. Florovsky avowed, built directly upon Cyprian, were as important to Florovsky's vision of the world of the Church Fathers as were the Cappadocian Fathers.

CONCLUSION

In the face of all historic losses of Christianity to Islam and, from his point of view, all the fateful concessions to Catholics of the Uniate Church, and to Calvinists (who even at one time controlled the quasi-Uniate Wallachian Orthodox Church of what is now Romania), and to Anglicans of the High Church Party in the ninetieth and twentieth centuries, Florovsky felt himself singled out by the Lord of history to resist the territorial and intellectual contraction of Orthodoxy and obliged to use his learning and eloquence to defend it in the Protestant-initiated movement for the larger good of the Christian commonweal. At the same time he recognized the proclivity of Orthodoxy, in being laudably close to the people, of also becoming inextricably ethnocentric, and he always upheld the catholic view as he would say directly to various youthful Orthodox audiences, especially in this country, whom he regarded in his day as insufficiently instructed in the riches of the Byzantine legacy of the Fathers.⁵²

Fr. Georges Florovsky was, in his own unarticulated sense of providentially assigned vocation in the Christian world, a theological plenipotentiary of the Byzantine Commonwealth as of the year, say, roughly, A.D. 1000, although his last repeatedly cited "Father" was Nicholas Cabasilas (born c.1322). As ambassador of a vanished realm, his diplomatic pouches filled with ancient instructions for the Christian communities to which he was accredited in ecumenical dialogue, Professor Florovsky at times seemed almost desperate to have his collocutors understand that on a personal level he felt enriched and beloved in the fellowship of Christians beyond the canonically bound circumference of Orthodoxy. We have noted how often he cited St. Cyprian approvingly about "No salvation outside the Church" only to insist that the Carthaginian rigorist, condemned by his counterpart St. Stephen in Rome on this very issue, had indeed improperly made the canonical too closely coincide with the mysteriously charismatic border of the Church and that the "world" in the sense of John 17 did not loom in its blackness just outside the portals of the Orthodox Church.

⁵²E.g., "To the Orthodox People: The Responsibility of the Orthodox in America," *Collected Works XIII* 174-179.

Yet so far as I have observed, Fr. Florovsky never tackled head-on the problem that it was the (Byzantine) Empire itself that shaped the contours of classical theology, Orthodox and Catholic, and that the Church had at first developed its theology for a colony of heaven, independent of that Empire and sometimes provocatively in the Age of the Martyrs in polemical parallelism with it. Fr. Florovsky may, indeed, have never rounded out his political theology (and he would surely have resisted the term) in order to reconcile the witness of the Ante-Nicene and the Nicene (Constantinian) Church and thus to clarify the *proper* relationship between the Christian community as “church” and as “sect” in both ante-Nicene and post-Modern terms. Perhaps Father Georges was, in effect, at once an Ante-Nicene and, with “asymmetrical” Christology, a Post-Nicene father himself for the Church in the post-Modern world-Church that will rehabilitate its ascetic roots as he did himself.

In conclusion, taking in fact a lead from Dr. George Bebis, who was once a student of Fr. Georges at Harvard Divinity School and at Holy Cross, I should like to recall some of the many ways in which the Florovskys, both of them as an embodiment of the hospitable domestic church, like the ancient house church, warmly embraced the Christian strangers and friends at their table and joined in prayer with them, sometimes in a grace offered by a guest.

Many of the older faculty in Harvard University will recall that in 1956, Fr. Florovsky in his blue beret, with several secular types from the Harvard Yard, along with social activists on his own faculty of Divinity, including professors James Luther Adams and Krister Stendahl (before he became Dean), entered Massachusetts Hall in order to parley with Nathan Pusey in his presidential chambers and to protest his announced policy of the exclusion of certain religious groups from using Memorial Church. Fr. Florovsky concurred with other distinguished professors who argued that the Memorial had been erected as a memorial to all of Harvard’s sons, Jewish no less than Christian and secular, who had together given their lives in World War I and thereafter, and that all their successors in the Yard should feel that they had welcome access to the commemorative precincts for religious exercises at appropriate times.

Fr. Florovsky attended common worship in Andover Hall Chapel. He consorted with Protestants and Jews in friendly exchanges, and indeed confirmed in his Christian faith one of the great figures at Harvard and M.I.T.: Moscow-born linguistic theorist Roman Jakobson, who was buried from Holy Trinity [Russian] Orthodox Cathedral in Boston, July 1982.

Fr. Florovsky differed substantially from Professor Harry A. Wolfson, whose epochal *Philosophy of the Church Fathers* (Cambridge, 1956) Fr. Florovsky never, so far as I have observed, cited. Nevertheless, Fr. Florovsky was always friendly with this renowned Jewish scholar on the same faculties as he himself. When Fr. Florovsky left Harvard, it was for Princeton University, to which venerable seat of Calvinism he would later leave his private papers,⁵³ while it was the Pontificale Institutum Studiorum Orientalium in Rome that published one of two *Festschriften* in his honor.⁵⁴

Perhaps most of all Fr. Florovsky was the grand ecumenist in his numerous interpretative chronicles of ecumenical efforts in the past, which, even when he found them wanting or defective, he set forth with admirable clarity and completeness.⁵⁵ As one of his Lutheran interpreters, Christoff Künkel of Erlangen, has asked searchingly and gratefully: "Out of what motive indeed did Fr. Florovsky sacrifice a large part of his lifetime in the middle of an impressive and challenging academic career and so many of his daily hours to research of this ecumenical task?"⁵⁶ Künkel's implied answer was: Fr. Florovsky intended to stay together in dialogue with fellow Christians.

We therefore salute during this centenary festivity of the birth in Odessa of the perhaps preeminent, surely the most articulate, Orthodox ecumenist of the twentieth century, son of old Russia, adopted son of America, archpriest and scholar under the Ecumenical Patriarch. Painsstaking historian of many movements over time that could well be called ecumenical, a formulator and defender of the Orthodox Church, as priest and historian he descried in her ancient epiphanies and in her eschatological raiment. In the fellowship of Christians both of gathered and of prelatically ordered churches, he was a beloved companion, guide, exhorter, and comforter on the Pilgrim Way, with the ascetic Jesus Prayer of the Hesychasts ever vibrant on his lips, his piercing eyes communicating to all that somewhere,

⁵³ The inventory of his papers is printed by Blaine, *Florovsky* 403-437. He also left a library of over 4,000 books to St. Vladimir's Orthodox Theological Seminary.

⁵⁴ The one by the Lutheran scholar Margaret Schatkin of (Catholic) Boston College and David Neiman, *The Heritage of the Early Church: Essays in Honor of Georges Florovsky on the occasion of his 80th birthday* (Rome, 1973). A major interpretation of his ecclesiology is that Catholic Yves-Noël Leclercq, *Perspectives russes sur l'Eglise: un théologien contemporain: Georges Florovsky* (Paris: Centurion, 1967).

⁵⁵ It is useful to have all this enormous work before us: *The Ways of Russian Theology*, Collected Works V-VI; "Western Influences in Russian Theology," Collected Works IV 157-182; "Patriarch Jeremiah and the Lutheran Divines," Collected Works II, ch. 1; "The Greek Version of the Augsburg Confession" *ibid.*, ch. 7; "The Orthodox Churches and the Ecumenical Movement Prior to 1920," *ibid.*, ch. 9; and *Ecumenism I and II*, Collected Works XIII-XIV.

⁵⁶ "The true Church," 284.

sometime, and more than once on his tortuous way, he had indeed beheld the Uncreated Light.

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Father Georges Florovsky: The Theologian and the Man

GEORGE S. BEBIS

With much affection, nostalgia and gratitude, my mind and my heart turn today to my illustrious professor at Boston University and at Harvard Divinity School, and my beloved and respected colleague and venerable friend here at Holy Cross, the late Father Georges Florovsky, whose one hundredth anniversary of his birth we remember and we honor this year. To him I owe my formation and growth as an Orthodox theologian and to him I am indebted forever, for his profound theological direction and inspiration. He was a humble priest of God, a man of exceptional holiness, humility and indeed of paternal Christian love. May his memory be eternal.

In my personal files I have kept, with much fondness, the questions which Father Florovsky gave me at my doctoral examinations at Harvard University on November 12, 1958. He wrote them himself and they are marked with his own personal initials. He asked me to:

Elaborate the concept of Creation with special emphasis on the following topics:

1) If the world is God's creation, how should we account for its imperfection and even wickedness?

2) How is man's freedom related to the Omnipotence of God?

Two days later he gave me the second theme as follows: "He came down from heaven...and was made man." Interpret the definition of Chalcedon....

From these questions emerge four great topics: God, Creation, Christ and Man. These were his main concerns throughout his life. A man of abiding faith, but also a most gifted man with an inquisitive mind and an exquisite spirit, he could not but preoccupy himself with eternal and pe-

rennial questions, which underlie and enhance the cause and the destiny of the world and the creation and redemption of man.

Father Florovsky's answer to these great concerns of humanity was an unflinching, personal "yes" to Jesus Christ. Christocentric, deep to his bones and to his heart, Father Florovsky knew sufficiently well, extremely well, that Christ is the beginning, the center and the end of history. In a triumphant disposition, in one of his most impressive essays, "The Predicament of the Christian Historian," Father Florovsky writes:

This entire pattern of interpretation (the Christian interpretation) is definitely *linear* from the beginning to the end, from Creation to Consummation, *but the line is broken, or rather 'bent' at a particular "crucial" or "turning point."* *This point is the center of history*, of the "history of salvation", *die Heilsgeschichte*. Yet, paradoxically "beginning," "center," and the "end" coincide, not at "events," but in the person of the Redeemer. Christ is both the *alpha* and *omega*, the "first" and "last", as well as the center. *In another sense, Christ is precisely Beginning.* The *new aion* has been inaugurated in his coming. The "Old" has been completed, but the "New" just began.¹

But we must not misjudge Father Florovsky. He was not carried away by a sterile triaphalism. Not at all. His whole national, formative, intellectual, philosophical and theological background show a man who grappled constantly and painfully, and in the most agonizing manner, with the antinomies, the disarrays and disheartening symptoms of spiritual disintegration and decay of his early youthful years, both in Russia and in Europe. In this context, the formative intellectual achievements of Father Florovsky and his early academic career have been studied copiously and admirably by my respected Professor at Harvard, Dr. George H. Williams. In his brilliant essay "Georges Vasilievich Florovsky: His American Career (1948 - 1965)."² Professor Williams has examined in a sweeping and panoramic way the vicissitudes, the human difficulties, and also the inspiring achievements of Father Florovsky in his early years. This article has become a "must" for every student of Father Florovsky. It must be noted that it has been translated into Greek and received with much success and enthusiasm.

In any case, it is obvious from Professor Williams' article that Father Florovsky encountered many intellectual and spiritual tribulations, notwithstanding the fact that he was born into a blessed priestly family and

¹ *Christianity and Culture*, The Collected Works of Georges Florovsky (Belmont, MA: Nordland 1974) II 58-59.

² George H. Williams, "Georges Vasilievich Florovsky: His American Career (1948-1965)," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* (1965) 7-107.

received a splendid education. His inquisitive and always scrutinizing mind could not fail but feel and see the intellectual and theological and spiritual vacuum in his early years. He studied at the Gymnasium in Odessa, and he continued his studies at the University of Odessa. He studied philosophy; psychology; natural sciences such as chemistry and physiology; as well as mathematics; and thus he developed a broad back-ground which prepared him for his future productive years. His familiarity, also, with epistemology and logic, and his great interest in history created in him the unending curiosity in the process and progress of time as being “consecrated” and given a new meaning in the light of Christ’s coming in History.³ At the same time, this contact with the non-Christian world, his serious study of Greek Philosophy and his deep familiarization with the secular intellectual protagonists of his time developed in him a sort of predicament – even a mistrust – towards secularism, old and new. Out of the predicament, Father Florovsky appeared to sense the vanity and the vainglory of the human mind, which is distant from the Eternal Truth that is God Almighty. And out of this experience, he laid down the foundations of some basic presuppositions, and postulates, and concepts which governed all his thought throughout his life – a kind of constant debate, a continuous dialecticism out of which a new synthesis must be found, grounded on a concrete and sound basis. This is Father Florovsky’s celebrated Patristic, or neo-Patristic, synthesis.

We cannot, of course, discuss in detail all the perplexities and the predicaments Father Florovsky faced during his life. But suffice it to mention here the most important ones.

First, the rationalism and determinism which prevailed in Russian and European thought in the 18th, 19th and early 20th centuries scandalized Father Florovsky. He could distinctly see and lament the crisis of European culture; the contradiction of German idealism which led, in reality, to a kind of Pantheism; the paradoxical and recurrent phenomenon of modern “Gnosticism;” a relapse into pre-Christian pagan Hellenism; and the most striking appearance of religious monism and theosophy.⁴

Secondly, Father Florovsky was always disturbed with all kinds of “Utopianism.” This included Slavophile Nationalism; Imperial Russia with its Westernization of culture under Peter the Great, which he calls “a traumatic astonishment,” and, most importantly, the Russian Revolution of 1917, with its Marxist utopianism. He described the Russian Marxist Revolution and the Bolshevik program as “Chiliastic”, because it sought to change the

³ *Christianity and Culture* II 2 58-59

⁴ George Williams, “Georges Vasilievich Florovsky: His American Career,” *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* (1965) 18-24; 54ff.

world and history on its own terms.⁵

Thirdly, Father Florovsky was unhappy with, and thoroughly detested the Roman Catholic effort to dominate the Church by saying, very clearly, that “the Roman Catholic Church had fallen into the third temptation of Satan in striving for world order at the expense of Christian freedom and in contaminating the spirit of the Gospel with the spirit of the *jus civile* in her scholastic theological systems.”⁶ Correctly, Professor Williams, in commenting on the attitude of Father Florovsky, notes that “He considered the idea of the ‘forced’ unification of mankind, stemming from Roman imperialism, originally sanctioned by pagan cosmotheism and then readapted by papal Catholicism, as another kind of this - worldly utopianism with a passion for canonical unity not dissimilar to Marxist Communism.”⁷

He spoke about Protestantism with the same aversion and distaste. He accused the neo-orthodox conservative Protestants of Monophysiticism and the Protestant Liberals of Nestorianism. In his pioneering article under the title “Faith and Culture,”⁸ he vehemently attacked the Protestant Pietists as deliberately disregarding doctrine because they mix in a paradoxical way, penitence, self-satisfaction, humility and pride, and eventually reducing Christianity to “a private religion of individuals.”⁹ He also attacks the Puritan Protestants for a “reductionist belief,” since a person, any person, “even as a forgiven person,” he continues, “is a lost creature, and his life cannot have any constructive value.”¹⁰ He adds, moreover, his apparent displeasure at Protestant Existentialism, because it speaks of “the All of God and the Nothing of Man.”¹¹ Finally, he rejects contemporary Protestant theories of the so-called “Plain Man” who opts for “simplicity, but rejects all doctrines and dogmas of the Church, which makes this life a training ground of souls and characters and the Last Judgment a test of loyalty and nothing else.”¹²

This attitude of Father Florovsky also explains his reluctance, his intellectual reservation, his theological restraints concerning the contemporary Ecumenical Movement. My venerable Professor George Williams will speak tonight on this issue. Suffice it to say that Father Florovsky never doubted in his heart that the canonical and the charismatic limits of the Church coincide; that separation is part of our cross, and that charity should

⁵ Ibid. 24, 102ff.

⁶ Ibid. 81

⁷ Ibid. 81.

⁸ *Christianity and Culture* II 2 9-3

⁹ Ibid. 17

¹⁰ Ibid. 18.

¹¹ Ibid. 19.

¹² Ibid. 20.

never be set against the truth.”¹³

Finally, Father Florovsky was deeply hurt by his own Russian Church — and also by all the Orthodox Church — for allowing unbecoming and disturbing Western theological influences into the theology of the Church. In his most provocative book, under the title *Ways of Russian Theology*, he spoke about the “pseudomorphosis” of Orthodox thought. It was a frontal attack against the Russian Church and theology, and the Slavophiles never forgave Father Florovsky for what they considered his betrayal. The reception of the book by the emigre communities in Europe and in America was less than friendly and supportive. In his book, Father Florovsky claimed that “A scholastic tradition was developed and a school begun, yet no spiritually creative movement resulted. Instead, there emerged an imitative and provincial scholasticism, in its literal sense a *theological scholastica*, i.e. school theology. This signified a new stage in religious and cultural consciousness. In the process theology was torn from its living roots.

A malignant schism set in between life and thought... Still, the aura of doom hovered over the entire movement, for it comprised a ‘pseudomorphism’ of Russia’s religious consciousness, a ‘pseudomorphosis’ of Orthodox thought.”¹⁴

Father Florovsky did not hesitate to call the celebrated Metropolitan Mogila of Kiev “an avid and resolute Westernizer.” His sin was to forge the heterogeneous peoples of the western regions into a single religious psychology and inspiration, into a common culture. Attending all his plans and endeavors, mostly by the symptoms of a clash between two opposed religious cultural orientations (Latin - Polish and Hellenic-Slavonic) was an intense, if submerged, struggle. Metropolitan Mogila was not alone in his projects. His numerous allies included the whole of the younger generation which, having passed through Polish schools, had come to regard the Latin West rather than the Slavonic - Hellenic East as its spiritual home. In a sense, this was logical. Silvester Kossov was eloquent and direct on the issue. “We need Latin,” he would say, “so that no one may call us ‘stupid Rus’ (*glupaia Rus!*). To study Greek is reasonable, if one studies in Greece, not in Poland. Here no one succeeds without Latin, in court, at meetings, or anywhere for that matter. There is no need to remind us of Greek. We honor it. But “*Graeca ad chorum, Latin ad forum.*”¹⁵

Nevertheless, Florovsky was adamant in confronting and accusing Rus-

¹³ For a discussion of this issue, Cf. G. H. Williams, “Georges Vasilievich Florovsky,” 84-86.

¹⁴ Ibid. 85.

¹⁵ Ibid. 65.

sian as well as Greek theologians, patriarchs, bishops and priests, who betrayed their roots and found consolation and sustenance in Latin theology.

Beyond and behind and underneath all the deep corners of Father Florovsky, lay his distrust and disappointment in "modern man," who, through the "modern crisis" of our times went astray into "intellectual chaos and disintegration," as he puts it so succinctly.¹⁶

Only through this "*Via Negativa*," this negative, so to speak, approach can one understand Father Florovsky's message to our own times. Father Florovsky, in contrast to these negative ways, postulates and axioms, also offered and underlined the positive presuppositions of the Christian Orthodox message of salvation. In his books, in his essays, in his sermons, in his book reviews, and in his lectures, there was always the positive, the affirmative, the convincing tidings, the good news of the Gospel of Christ, as it is lived and experienced in the Church, which is the Body of Christ. Father Florovsky exclaims:

This is a rediscovery of a new dimension, a rediscovery of the continuing presence of the Divine Redeemer in the midst of his faithful flock. This rediscovery throws a new flood of light on the misery of our disintegrated existence in a world thoroughly secularized.¹⁷

Indeed, Father Florovsky's faith in Christ and his Church was well-grounded and deep-rooted. One can see, in his writings, the "*via positiva*," or the positive way with which he approached the Incarnation of the Word of God. Those of us who were fortunate enough to be his students and his friends remember the warmth which he exuded. His movements, his voice, his gestures, his eyes, all were in flames, the flames of his all-burning faith. In his famous essay on Redemption he writes with astonishing simplicity, but also with a most moving conviction:

The Word became flesh...in this is the ultimate joy of the Christian Faith. In this is the fullness of Revelation. The same Incarnate Lord is both perfect God and perfect man. The full significance and the ultimate purpose of human existence is revealed and realized in and through the Incarnation. He came down from Heaven to redeem the earth, to unite man with God forever.¹⁸

Out of his strong Christology, Father Florovsky developed his strong

¹⁶"The Lost Scriptural Mind" in *Bible, Church, Tradition: An Eastern Orthodox View, The Collected Works of Georges Florovsky* (Belmont, MA: Nordland 1972) I 10-16.

¹⁷*Ibid.* 16.

¹⁸*Creation and Redemption, The Collected Works of George Florovsky* (1976) III 95

ecclesiology. Again and again, in many of his writings he stresses the importance of the Church as the Body of Christ, because "Christianity," he says, "from the very beginning existed as a corporate reality, as a community. To be Christian meant to belong to the community. Nobody could be Christian by himself, as an isolated individual, but only together with the 'brethren,' in a 'togetherness' with them. *Unus Christianus - nullus Christianus*."¹⁹ And he continues:

Christianity means a 'common life' a life in common. . . . Surely, the clear evidence of the New Testament takes us far beyond this purely human level. Christians are united not only among themselves, but first of all they are one in Christ and only this communion with Christ makes the communion of men first possible - in Him. The center of unity is the Lord and the power that effects and enacts the unity is the Spirit....²⁰

Naturally, in this short paper we cannot cover the vast amount of Father Florovsky's treatises and essays in which so faithfully he proves to be a true, humble priest and theologian of the church. But what is more important here is that Father Florovsky, beyond these descriptions of his warm faith had also the ability and the charisma and the illuminated "phronema" to offer the synthesis, the motif, the way, through which one may find not simply a methodology, but the ultimate criterion and direction towards a real experience of Orthodox theology and life. That synthesis is the Patristic synthesis. Father Florovsky was indeed absolutely certain that only by going back to the Fathers of the Church, may we recapture the life of Christ and the life of the Church of Christ. My respected Professor Williams speaks about Father Florovsky's reworking of the Fathers from the fourth through the eighth centuries and he speaks also about the fully spiritualized Christian Hellenism, which is the patristic synthesis, especially of the age of the gradual differentiation between Roman and Byzantine imperial Christendom.²¹ Indeed, this Patristic synthesis was not simply a superficial repetition of Patristic texts, but the reliving and reexperiencing of the theology and the life-style of the Fathers. This is why Father Florovsky spoke about the need for a genuine awakening which could begin when not only the answers but the questions are heard in the past and in the future.²² He says:

¹⁹ "The Church: Her Nature and Task," in *Bible, Church, Tradition* 59.

²⁰ Ibid. 59-60.

²¹ Williams, "Georges Vasilievich Florovsky," 56-57.

²² *The Ways of Russian Theology*, The Collected Works of Georges Florovsky (Belmont, MA: Nordland 1975) IX xii.

The inexhaustible power of the patristic tradition in theology is defined still more by the fact that theology was a matter of life for the holy fathers, a spiritual quest (*podvig*), a confession of faith, a creative resolution of living tasks.²³

This synthesis was not conducted in abstract. "This synthesis," Father Florovsky would say, "must begin with the central vision of the Christian faith: Christ Jesus as God and Redeemer, humiliated and glorified, the victim and the victor on the cross."²⁴ There is no doubt that this synthesis included a beautiful nostalgia for the Fathers of the Church, but also for the Hellenic culture which the Fathers used so abundantly and so creatively. In that sense, Father Florovsky remained not only a true Patristic scholar, but also a true Hellene. He was proud to say that he was Greek, that he belonged to the Ecumenical Patriarchate, and that he was a true son of the Greek Orthodox Church. The culmination and the testimony of his Patristic acumen and his love of Hellenic ethos was his great two-volume Patrology which has been translated into English.

Let me conclude with two encounters with Father Florovsky from my personal experience. Father Florovsky became a collaborator for the famous and unique *Religious and Ethical Encyclopedia* of Greece. When I was in Athens in the sixties, God allowed me to assist him in this beautiful endeavor. I still keep my files and our correspondence on this matter and I do know how happy he was that his name was included in this Greek language encyclopedia. The second significant encounter occurred when Fr. Florovsky was invited to Thessalonike to receive the doctor's degree, *honoris causa*, from the School of Theology of the University of Thessalonike around the same time. He asked me to translate his lecture into Greek so that he could recite it in Greek at an official ceremony. He gave his lecture in Greek to his great satisfaction and pleasure, as he confided to me latter.

I still keep his letters and his personal comments on the issues of our days. Sometimes he sounded concerned, very concerned. But always he remained faithful to Christ; a devoted son of the Church and the Ecumenical Patriarchate; a beloved teacher; a cherished friend; a true Hellene. May his saintly soul rejoice in Heaven with Christ and the Apostles and the Fathers of the Church whom he so much loved and whose life and teachings he labored. May his memory be eternal!

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ "Patristic Theology and the Ethos of the Orthodox Church," *Aspects of Church History*, The Collected Works of Georges Florovsky (Belmont, MA: Nordland 1975) IX 23.

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In Memoriam: Fr. Leonidas Contos (Kontogiannis)

Fr. Leonidas Contos (Kontogiannis), the first President of Hellenic College and Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology, passed away after a long illness on September 1, 1995 in San Mateo, CA in his 75th year, following a distinguished and wide-ranging life of service of priestly and academic ministry to the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America.

Born in Newburyport, MA, he was baptized and raised at the city's Annunciation Greek Orthodox Church. He was among the earliest graduates of Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology, earning his diploma in 1943, with its second Pomfret, CT class. In 1944 he married the late Athena Evergates and was ordained the same year to the diaconate by the first Dean of Holy Cross, Bishop Athenagoras Cavadas, of blessed memory, in Newburyport. He was ordained a Presbyter by the late Metropolitan Germanos Polizoides in August of 1944 in Stamford, CT at the Church of the Archangels and assigned as its pastor, a service he fulfilled with distinction for seven years, until 1951. During his stay in Stamford he studied at the University of Bridgeport, earning a Bachelor's degree with the English department. For the subsequent ten years he was Dean of the St. Sophia Cathedral in Los Angeles.

In 1961 he resigned his position as Dean of the Cathedral to study at Oxford University, earning the D.Phil. degree. The subject of his thesis was "The Concept of Theosis in Saint Gregory Palamas, With Critical Text of the 'Contra Akindymum,'" in which he developed "A Theology of Theosis" drawn from the critical edition of the text. He also received a doctorate in theology from the University of Southern California in 1965.

Among his publications are a widely read collection of sermons, titled *In Season and Out of Season*, published in 1972. Holy Cross Orthodox Press published in 1982, a courageous and realistic critique and evaluation of the Orthodox Church, with recommendations for the future development of the Church, under the title *2001, The Church in Crisis*. In the later years of his life, Fr. Contos used his considerable linguistic skills for the translation of

liturgical texts. Among the first was a co-authored translation of the *Septuagint Psalms* in 1993. In conjunction with the Rev. Spencer Kezios, of Northridge, CA, and under the imprint of the Narthex Press, he published his translation of *Holy Week and Easter* in 1994, and a three volume new translation, *Sacrament and Services* in 1995. He also translated the *The Lenten Liturgies*, publishing the volume in the same year. *The Lenten Covenant*, a commentary on Lenten themes with the lay person in mind with the goal of deepening the Lenten experience of "Bright Sadness" is also his publication. His last effort was the first biligual Greek-English *Liturgikon* ever published and with it a companion edition of the Divine Liturgy for parishioner use. This was published by Narthex Press after his passing. Fr. Contos' translations are always elegant, but also, faithful to the spirit and letter of the original.

His service to the Orthodox Church was prodigious, far beyond his successful pastorates, the last of which was in the Community of Belmont, CA. Serving as the first President of Hellenic College / Holy Cross, he presided over a process of development with the goal of integrating both schools into the higher education climate of the United States. Later in his life he served as the first Director of the Patriarch Athenagoras Orthodox Institute at the Graduate Theological Union at Berkeley, CA and as the Alex G. Spanos Professor of Orthodox Studies there.

Prior to that Fr. Contos served as Archbishop Michael's representative to the National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA and served as official translator for His Eminence, Archbishop Iakovos, also serving on the staff of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America. He presented numerous network television religious programs on the NBC "Frontiers of Faith" series in 1964 and 1965. He twice served as Vicar General of the California Diocese. In 1990 he served as the official "instantaneous translator" for Ecumenical Patriarch Dimitrios I, during His All-holiness' visit to the United States.

The Church honored Fr. Contos with the ecclesiastical ranks of Confessor, Ekonomos, Protopresbyter, and, following the death of his wife, Archimandrite. Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology awarded him the Doctor of Theology degree "Honoris Causa" in 1981.

His life of service, commitment and devotion to the Church and to theological education provide all those who follow him with an example of the formed and forming ministry of the Orthodox Priesthood. "Well done, good and faithful servant, enter into the joy of your Lord."

May his memory be eternal!

Stanley S. Harakas

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Kees Zoeteman, *Gaiasophy*. Hudson NY: Lindisfarne Press, 1991, 374 pages.

This large volume, a translation from the Dutch (1989), constitutes an approach to ecology based on ancient myth, spiritual vision, and scientific thinking. The author is an engineer and head of Physics and Chemistry at the Netherlands Institute for environmental health.

One thing that we have learned all too painfully from the ecological crisis that we face is that we need a spiritual perspective or philosophical ground for our concern for the earth's future. This book takes significant steps in that direction. There is, the author claims, an innate "knowledge and wisdom of the living earth", and a wall that divides "the two worlds" of intellect and intuition, mind and matter, mechanical and spiritual, ego-centric and universal (p.14 f.). There are two insightful chapters on "the earth as organism" (ch. 7, pp. 145-166) and "the earth as a mirror of man" (ch. 9, pp. 193-228). Then, finally, the author sets out to "recreate the biosphere through gaiasophy" (ch. 10, pp. 229-321) in industrial areas, urban areas, agricultural and rural regions, natural and water areas. There is not only an historical approach to the various cycles/eras, but also a geographical approach to the various continents. The book concludes by exploring "the heart of the matter" (ch. 11, pp. 322-352): the author provides the basic laws of sustainable development, the main factors creating difficulties, and the need for a healing of ecology and economy.

"The world, Europe, and I myself, must wake up to the deadening effect of technology. It is only when man is fully aware, Europe is awake, and mankind has recovered from its spiritual crisis, that the heart and blood will be formed to cure the sick Earth" (p. 352).

The emphasis of this book is more on physics and philosophy (particularly of Rudolf Steiner), and less on religion and theology. Yet it is a fascinating alternative to the destructive course on which we find ourselves.

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Book Reviews

Golden Mouth: The Story of John Chrysostom—Ascetic, Preacher, Bishop By J. N. D. Kelly, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995). Pp.vii+310.

As the author states in the preface of this book, his aim is to fill a void in Chrysostom studies by providing the first comprehensive study of the Golden Mouth to be undertaken in the United States since 1880. The field has largely been neglected for over sixty years due to C. Baur's monumental two-volume work, *John Chrysostom and His Time* (2 vols. Westminster, MD 1959-60), written in German in 1929/30 and later published in a laborious English translation in 1959. The time, however, has indeed come for a contemporary comprehensive study of Chrysostom.

Kelly's book seeks to benefit from new research in specific areas related to Chrysostom studies (e.g. Syrian monasticism; Antioch; Byzantine politics) and utilize this scholarship for his comprehensive study. *Golden Mouth* succeeds in doing this very well, providing new perspectives on many aspects of Chrysostom's life. In addition to benefiting from contemporary research, Kelly also offers scholarly opinions of his own, arguing, for example, that Chrysostom's works *A King and a Monk Compared* and *To Theodore When He Fell Away* could only have been composed in the city of Antioch and not during Chrysostom's monastic period.

Kelly structures the chapters of his book by tracing Chrysostom's life journey chronologically from his early years in Antioch to his two exiles from Constantinople and eventual death. The author seems to have abbreviated and adapted the structure used in Baur's work. Kelly devotes 103 pages to Chrysostom's activity in Antioch and 186 pages to his episcopacy and exiles from Constantinople (appendices excluded).

Kelly's primary sources are Chrysostom's homilies and writings. Kelly adeptly utilizes these for contextualizing events as well as for insights into the development of Chrysostom's character. The author also relies heavily on Palladios, Sokrates, and Sozomen while furthermore drawing from Martyrios, Philostorgios, and Zosimos. Kelly often prefers Sokrates to Palladios whom he believes can sometimes be "an uncritical admirer" (p. 55) and a "hero-worshipper" (p. 17) of Chrysostom. It is not until Appendix A (p. 293), however, that Kelly informs the unassuming reader that Sokrates is many times critical of Chrysostom in his *Church History* for character traits with which Sokrates is not sympathetic.

Although Kelly's forays into Chrysostom's character are most often insightful (e. g. Chrysostom's growing assertiveness and responsibilities with Bishop Flavian's increasing age and weakness of health, pp. 100-03), he sometimes crosses into questionable territory. Referring to the friendship between Chrysostom and the Deaconess Olympia, Kelly suggests that "modern students, influenced by the post-Freudian atmosphere in which they have been brought up, are bound to discern a sexual element in this close and strong relationship. They are entirely correct in so doing. It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that John and Olympias were unaware of this factor" (p. 113). Although Kelly goes on to say that sexuality was rigorously controlled by committed Christians of that epoch and kept at arm's length, he seems to imply that Olympia's repressed sexual feelings had damaging psychological consequences when she was overwhelmed with depression at the time of Chrysostom's exile (p. 114; cf. p. 268). Kelly's interpretation of Olympia's depression is troublesome and does not suitably explain the wide range of people who were also notably distraught at Chrysostom's departure and absence.

Kelly's three appendices (Some Ancient Sources; Chronology of John's Earlier Life; Charges Brought Against John at the Oak) as well as the town plans of Antioch and Constantinople are helpful additions to his study. The volume would have been further improved with a select bibliography. Also, the substantial amount of Greek words quoted would have been better served with a Greek font rather than with an English transliteration.

All things considered, *Golden Mouth* is a work that has been urgently needed and successfully fills that need. It provides both the

scholar as well as the popular reader who seeks a more detailed account of Chrysostom's life with a comprehensive study utilizing recent scholarship. Even if a bit pricey, at \$47.50, it is well worth the cost. *Golden Mouth* should serve for many decades as a companion to Baur's monumental work.

John Fotopoulos

Mahmoud Zibawi. *Eastern Christian Worlds*. Tr. from the French by Madeleine Beaumont, edited by Nancy McDarby (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1995). Pp. 272. Originally published as Mahmoud Zibawi, *Orients Chrétiens entre Byzance et Islam* (Paris: Desclee de Brouwer, 1995).

Lavishly illustrated with more than one hundred color and nearly two hundred black and white photographs, Mahmoud Zibawi's study of the "Oriental" Christian icon is a significant visual supplement to the increasingly well-known religious art of imperial Byzantium. Zibawi's icons, produced in Syria, Armenia, Egypt, and Ethiopia between late antiquity and the present, are deeply marked by the traces of a striking symbiosis with the artistic traditions of Persia, India, Tibet, and China. This process of exchange and interaction is followed across a wide range of media, including mural and panel painting, plaster reliefs, wood and stone carvings, and illuminated manuscripts.

It is to be regretted, therefore, that the relationship between text and images is not always clear. The majority of the black and white plates, for example, are not discussed or referred to in the surrounding text. In other cases, the connection is more or less clear, but not explicit, and the reader must struggle to integrate image(s) with text. The simple addition of parenthetical references to the plates would have largely, but not, however, completely, rectified this problem. At p. 49 to cite just one example, the reader is provided with a detailed verbal description of a Syrian bas-relief which does not appear among the two bas-reliefs reproduced at the bottom of the page. The unseen bas-relief is then compared to a carved flagstone, an image of which is provided. It is not until p. 58 that marginal references to the plates are provided, but these refer only to the color plates, and not to the black and white.

On the central question of cultural borrowing and exchange, the

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This requires an active pedagogical approach which could be achieved, even in a printed book.

A second reservation concerns the "liturgical captivity" of the work. True, its intent is to cover the liturgical feast days and thus I cannot make too strong a point in the case of *Incarnate God*, but Boojamra has persuasively pointed out that the Church is more than liturgy and that Orthodox Christian education has been distorted by this overly liturgical emphasis. Even the preface to *Living God* reminds Orthodox readers that we sometimes succumb to ritualism and can become more inward looking than outward. Catechesis involves nurturing the members of the community into a community which worships, but also engages in fellowship (*koinonoia*), ministry (*diakonia*), preaching and teaching (*kerygma* and *didache*), and witness (*martyria*) to the world.

On a much more positive pedagogical note, *Incarnate God* uses iconography throughout the text and more effectively than *Living God*. There are iconic pointers on nearly every page, that is a set of symbols which highlight liturgical, Psalm, Old Testament, and New Testament passages. These and the extensive use of iconography serve to reconnect the reader with the sources of the Orthodox Tradition for the explanations offered about the feasts. These images nudge the reader into reflecting upon the rich textures of Orthodox Christianity and how it is lived and known, beyond mere discourse *about* the faith.

Anton C. Vrame

Alkiviadis C. Calivas, *Great Week and Pascha in the Greek Orthodox Church* (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1992). Pp.ix + 145.

Drawing on twelve years of teaching a Holy Week Seminar at Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology, Fr. Alkiviadis Calivas (professor of Liturgy and President of Hellenic College and Holy Cross) has written *Great Week and Pascha in the Greek Orthodox Church* "to help the seminarian better understand and more fully appreciate the liturgical wealth and the profound theological and spiritual riches contained in the divine services of Great Week and Pascha" (vii). The audience, however, must be much wider to necessitate this second printing.

Father Calivas begins his analysis with the Saturday of Lazarus, discussing each service though the Agape Vespers on Easter Sunday. Each chapter follows the same basic structure: (1) "Comments on the Main Themes" uses the assigned scripture readings and liturgical texts to focus on certain theological ideas. This section demonstrates the ability of Orthodox theology to weave together biblical, dogmatic, liturgical, hymnographic, and patristic threads. (2) "General Observations" walk the reader through each service, explaining its origins, tracing its evolution, and noting significant characteristics. (3) "Rubrics" are especially helpful for those involved in the actual performance of the liturgy—priest, deacon, chanters, and choir. Here the author presents a basic schema of each service, often clarifying specific practices.

Although this book would certainly be helpful for clergy, lay women and men would profit from reading it as part of their annual Paschal discipline. The daily thematic material is rich and quite substantial. Rather than simply dwell on the obvious, Fr. Calivas uses the liturgy as a springboard for meditation on everything from the Kingdom of God to the initial fall of humanity and a theology of sin to Christ's ultimate triumph over evil. Even the more technical rubrical sections include some interesting historical information.

Unfortunately this is simply a reprint instead of a full-blown second edition. Beyond the correction of typographical and continuity problems, the endnotes deserve serious attention. Few things are as aggravating as constantly having to turn to the back of a book looking for notes. Furthermore, several endnotes contain important background material or intriguing observations about present practice and future trends. One drawback of books concerned with contemporary liturgical topics, even within classic liturgical traditions, is that the ever-increasing scholarship necessitates constant revision of bibliographic resources. This volume would be more helpful to students of liturgy if it referred to the second edition of Thomas Talley's *The Origins of the Liturgical Year* or Raniero Cantalamessa's recent collection of patristic texts (*Easter in the Early Church*).

Not everybody will appreciate every dimension of this book, but anyone who takes the time to read it will benefit from portions. Father Calivas has made a significant contribution that should serve as a basis for further study and liturgical renewal in the American Greek Orthodox Church.

John Klentos

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Gregory of Nyssa, *Ad Graecos* "How It Is That We Say There Are Three Persons In The Divinity But Do Not Say There Are Three Gods" (To The Greeks: Concerning The Commonality Of Concepts)

DANIEL F. STRAMARA, JR.

INTRODUCTION

The question "What do we mean when we call God three Persons?" has been perennial ever since the fourth century. The meaning of 'person' is as problematic today as it was then. A trinitarian declaration of the faith was made by Constantinople I in 381, namely, "there is one Godhead, Power and Substance of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost; the dignity being equal, and the majesty being equal in three perfect hypostases, i.e., three perfect persons (προσώποις)"¹ Gregory of Nyssa played a prominent role at this second Ecumenical Council,² and was subsequently commissioned by the Council Fathers and Emperor Theodosius to be the official

¹*Epistula Constantinopolitani concilii ad papam Damasum et occidentales episcopos, Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta* (Freiburg, Germany: Herder, 1962), 28; *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* Series 2 volume 14:189

²For a study of Constantinople I see Adolf Martin Ritter, *Das Konzil von Konstantinopel und sein Symbol* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965). Also see Demetrios J. Constantelos, "Toward the Convocation of the Second Ecumenical Council," *GOTR* 27 (1982): 395-405; Deno J. Geanakoplos, "The Second Ecumenical Synod of Constantinople (381): Proceedings and Theology of the Holy Spirit," *GOTR* 27 (1982): 407-29; as well as chapter six of my dissertation "Unmasking the Meaning of *Πρόσωπον* Prosopon as Person in the Works of Gregory of Nyssa" (Ph D. diss., Saint Louis University, 1996). For the role played by Gregory also see Werner Jaeger, "Gregor von Nyssa auf und nach dem Konzil von Konstantinopel (381)," in *Gregor von Nyssa's Lehre von Heiligen Geist* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1966), 51-77

ambassador to promulgate the Church's doctrine.³

Previously Gregory had penned *Ad Ablabium* to explain how God is one essence and three hypostases.⁴ Later he composed a treatise to address in particular the meaning of πρόσωπον, or person, when applied to God: *Ad Graecos* (*Ex communibus notionibus*), or *To the Greeks: Concerning the Commonality of Concepts*. Until now, no published English translation exists of this important fourteen page work, and only recently a German Version⁵ was produced based on the critical text edited by Frederick Mueller in *Gregorii Nysseni Opera*, vol. 3.1 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1958), 19-33. This edition is the basis for the present translation. Following upon the view that the designation 'person' is as much a problem today as it was in the fourth century, it would seem important to make this text available to English speaking readers.

Gregory's work takes up the question as to what extent the Divine Persons are like human persons. His psychological approach is enlightening. Before discussing briefly the meaning of πρόσωπον in *Ad Graecos*, this important treatise needs to be contextualized historically.

Concerning the dating, Hübner contends that the primary focus of *Ad Graecos* was the distinction between οὐσία and ὑπόστασις. Thus he places it during or shortly after the Synod of Antioch in 379.⁶ While his theory is plausible, it is open to critical questioning, even

³Codex Theodosianus 16.1.3 For an English translation see Clyde Pharr, *The Theodosian Code* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1952), 440. Gregory mentions his conscription by the Emperor and the Council in *Epistula* 2.12-13, GNO 8.2.17, 1-13. For a survey of this affair see the "Introduction" by Maraval in SC 363.32-38.

⁴See Gregory of Nyssa, *Ad Ablabium*, GNO 3.1.37-57 and the introduction and translation by Cyril Richardson in *The Library of Christian Classics Volume III Christology of the Later Fathers* (Philadelphia, PA: Westminster Press, 1954), 235-67 as well as the article by G. Christopher Stead, "Why not Three Gods? The Logic of Gregory of Nyssa's Trinitarian Doctrine," in *Studien zu Gregor von Nyssa und der christlichen Spätantike* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990), 149-62.

⁵See Hermann J. Vogt, "Die Schrift *Ex communibus notionibus* des Gregor von Nyssa," *Theologische Quartalschrift* 171 (1991) 204-18.

⁶See Reinhard M. Hübner, "Gregor von Nyssa und Markell von Ankyra," in *Écriture et culture philosophique dans la pensée de Grégoire de Nysse. Actes du colloque de Chevetogne 22-26 Septembre 1969*, edited by Marguerite Harl (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971), 206-209.

though the Gregorian historical scholar, Stead, avows that Hübner's dating is "extremely probable."⁷ The term ὑπόστασις first appears in the text at the bottom of the eighth page where it has a theological meaning but is used only cursorily. It does not figure into the discussion significantly until two pages later, near the end of the work. Here Gregory uses ὑπόστασις six times in a philosophical sense before applying it in a theological one. Hübner overlooks the fact that before the first occurrence of ὑπόστασις, the term πρόσωπον had already been discussed sixteen times with a human denotation and thirty-eight times in a trinitarian sense. Gregory utilizes ὑπόστασις in a theological sense only six times out of thirty-six instances,⁸ compared to πρόσωπον which he employs sixty times in all, forty of which are in reference to Father, Son and Holy Spirit - the other twenty, to human persons.

Gregory's pressing question, as his title explicitly states, is: "How it is that we say there are three Persons (πρόσωπα) in the Divinity but do not say there are three Gods?" In other words, Gregory is saying, if I say that Peter, Paul and Barnabas are three πρόσωπα and call them three human beings, why is it that if I say the Father, Son and Spirit are three πρόσωπα I do not call them three gods? *Ad Graecos* is a treatise primarily explaining the term πρόσωπον, not the theological metaphysics of ὑπόστασις and οὐσία. The most probable occasion for such a focused exposition of πρόσωπον is the Second Ecumenical Council in which Gregory of Nazianzus highlighted the debate concerning the term πρόσωπον during the Council's sessions.⁹ I propose that this pamphlet was composed shortly after the Council's sessions when Gregory of Nyssa was commissioned as the official ambassador of the Council's theology.

⁷ See G. Christopher Stead, "Why not Three Gods? The Logic of Gregory of Nyssa's Trinitarian Doctrine," in *Studien zu Gregor von Nyssa und der christlichen Spätantike* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990), 150. More cautiously, Gerhard May admits that it is tempting to place this work before 381, without actually pinning himself down to such a *terminus ad quem*, see May, "Die Chronologie des Lebens und der Werke des Gregors von Nyssa," in Harl, *Écriture et culture*, 58-59.

⁸ See Gregory of Nyssa, *Ad Graecos*, GNO 3 1 26,18, 28,20, 29,8 & 10, 32,24 and 33,4.

⁹ See Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio* 42.16, SC 384:82-84 as well as chapter six of my dissertation.

I believe his opposition, referred to in the text as “they,” are the Eunomians who were preoccupied with Aristotelian metaphysics. The Eunomians claimed that the hypostasis of the Son differed from that of the Father and thus they were prone to speak of “such and such” an hypostasis as opposed to an hypostasis of another quality (see below). After a linguistic and metaphysical analysis of several terms, Gregory concludes his treatise: “Therefore it is firmly established for us, rightly and logically, grounded in scientific reasons, that we profess one God, the Creator of the universe, even if God is contemplated in three Persons (πρόσωπα) or Hypostases, that of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.”¹⁰ Throughout this theological tract, πρόσωπον is manifestly the operative and predominant term; Gregory employs ὑπόστασις as a secondary synonym.¹¹

Thus I propose that *Ad Graecos* was written shortly after July 381 as a pamphlet to be used by Gregory himself and others as they promulgated the Council’s teachings to semi-arianized Christians, or more exactly to those who had been philosophically hellenized by an Aristotelian metaphysics; hence the subtitle— “To the Greeks: Concerning the Commonality of Concepts.” I believe that this is a far more probable occasion for the writing of *Ad Graecos* than that proposed by Hübner. The lack of any reference to the Council in this treatise may be explained by the Eunomians’ non-acceptance of the Council which had explicitly condemned them in its first canon. Gregory’s argument would have to be linguistic and metaphysical, rather than ecclesiological and doctrinaire, if it were to convince such philosophically hellenized Christians.

But what does πρόσωπον mean for Gregory of Nyssa?¹² Lynch proposes “that Gregory seems to be limiting his theological applications of the word in *Ad Graecos* to rational, or spiritual, or self-conscious beings.”¹³ My own analysis corroborates Lynch’s conclusion; the overwhelming majority of the time, Gregory employs

¹⁰ Gregory of Nyssa, *Ad Graecos*, GNO 3 1 33,1-5

¹¹ Such a preference for πρόσωπον over ὑπόστασις is borne out in the rest of Gregory’s works

¹² John J. Lynch broached this question in his article, “Prosopon in Gregory of Nyssa: A Theological Word in Transition,” *Theological Studies* 40 (1979) 728-38. The reader is once again directed to my dissertation in which I analyzed the three hundred and thirteen occurrences of the term in Gregory’s authentic works

¹³ Lynch, “Prosopon in Gregory of Nyssa,” 738

the term to designate a relational and psychological being, whether divine or human. In this treatise he makes it clear that on several points the Divine Persons are not like human persons. The bishop of Nyssa clarifies,

All the persons belonging to Man [i.e., Humanity] do not directly possess [i.e., derive] their being from the same person, but some from this one and some from that one, so that with respect to the individuals caused there are also many and diverse causes. But with regard to the Holy Trinity, such is not the case, for there is one and the same Person, that of the Father, from whom the Son is begotten and the Holy Spirit proceeds.... For the Persons of the Divinity are not separated from one another either by time or place, not by will or by practice, not by activity or by passion, not by anything of this sort, such as is observed with regard to human beings.

While for Gregory the Divine Persons are fundamentally relational beings possessing will, purpose and consciousness, they are not limited as are human persons.¹⁴ Although the bishop of Nyssa is comfortable in presenting the Father, the Only-Begotten and the Holy Spirit in ontological terms as does Eunomius, he prefers to depict them in relational and psychological categories so as to express their inner vitality and relationality, which then overflows to creation. Eunomius denied the dynamic and personal relationality intrinsic to the Divine Persons, something Gregory of Nyssa safeguarded by his insistence upon the term πρόσωπον. For Gregory, πρόσωπον is not only a valid theological term, but a rich designation which preserves God's relationality. Each prosopon is *pros*, i.e., *facing towards* the other.

* * * * *

In my translation, the following terms have been consistently rendered in the same manner so that the reader may know what the underlying Greek words are. Πρόσωπον is rendered as 'person,' capitalized when referring to a member of the Holy Trinity so as to distinguish it from a human person. The term οὐσία is always trans-

¹⁴For Gregory's presentation of the Divine Persons in psychological terms see chapter four of my dissertation.

lated as 'essence.' The word ὑπόστασις is most often 'subsistence,' a concrete individual manifestation of an abstract essence; sometimes however, given the Trinitarian context, it is simply transliterated as 'hypostasis;' the word ὑπαρξις is 'substance' and εἶδος is 'species' since it is connected with γένος which is 'genus.' Ἄτομον is 'individual' and μερικὴ is translated as 'individuated' in the sense of a particularized portion. The following verbs with their nouns have been translated accordingly: διαφέρω = 'differ(entiate),' διακρίνω = 'distinguish/distinction,' and διαιρέω = 'divide, separate.'

Of especial difficulty is the term ἄνθρωπος. Gregory uses it to refer to humanity as a whole, reminiscent of the Neo-Platonic idea or form; hence he argues against it being pluralized, since there is only *one* humanity. In certain contexts, however, it means a particular human being. It appears that Gregory uses ἄνθρωπος in an inclusive sense since elsewhere he sometimes applies it to women.¹⁵ Furthermore, Gregory believes that gender specification is something added to the original image of ἄνθρωπος.¹⁶ Thus ἄνθρωπος is translated as 'Man,' capitalized to refer to humanity as a general concept, even when it might mean a particular human being. The incorrectness and awkwardness that Gregory perceived in the plural ἄνθρωποι, is rendered by the admittedly incorrect and awkward 'Mans.'

My use of this term however, is demanded by the argument of the text. Because Gregory extensively analyzed the term ἄνθρωπος, using it fifty-one times, I considered it best to render it always by the same word: Man, and in the plural, Mans. The sound of "mans" jars the reader, and conveys the inappropriateness Gregory himself experienced in the term ἄνθρωποι. Consistently using Man and Mans will also allow the reader to feel the force of Gregory's argumentation throughout and to follow his logic more easily. In short, there is only one Humanity, not many humanities; there is only one Deity, not many deities. Just as a plurality of Divine Persons, namely three, does not mean there are many deities or gods.

The three cases in which males (ἄνδρες) are referred to, the noun is translated as 'men.'

¹⁵See, for example, Gregory of Nyssa, *In Canticum Cantorum* 2, GNO 6 69,4-14 addressed to the deaconess Olympia, and *Contra Eunomium* 2, GNO 1 278,7-9

¹⁶See Gregory of Nyssa, *De hominis officio* 16, PG 44 177D-185D and Verna E. F. Harrison, "Male and Female in Cappadocian Theology," *Journal of Theological Studies* 41 (1990). 441-71, as well as chapter 3 of my dissertation

The numbers in brackets refer to the pages of the critical text established by Mueller in GNO 3.1. Finally, I am indebted to Anthony C. Daly, S.J., associate professor of classical languages at Saint Louis University, who reviewed my translation and provided help with some difficult passages.

The importance of πρόσωπον as a theological term is testified to in this significant treatise. Gregory of Nyssa was proclaimed the “Father of the Fathers” by the Seventh Ecumenical Council. His thoughts on the subject warrant close attention.

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**HOW IT IS THAT WE SAY THERE ARE THREE
PERSONS IN THE DIVINITY BUT DO NOT SAY
THERE ARE THREE GODS
(TO THE GREEKS: CONCERNING THE
COMMONALITY OF CONCEPTS)**

Gregory of Nyssa

[19] If the term “God” were indicative of the Person, then out of necessity when we speak of the three Persons we would be saying three Gods, but if the term “God” signifies the essence, when we confess the one essence of the Holy Trinity we rightly teach as doctrine that there is one God since the term “God” refers to one essence. Therefore it follows that God is one both according to essence and terminology, not three. Neither do we assert God and God and God (just as we say Father and Son and Holy Spirit, when we combine the terms signifying the Persons by the conjunction “and”), because the Persons are not the same but different—they differ from one another according to the very significance of their names. To the term “God” which signifies the essence, because of a certain characteristic property pertaining to the essence, we do not add the conjunction “and” so as to say God and God and God. This indeed is the essence of which the Persons are constituted, and which the term “God” signifies. Wherefore, God is one and the same; the conjunction “and” is never employed between a thing and itself.

[20] Whether we say Father-God and Son-God and Holy Spirit-God or God the Father and God the Son and God the Holy Spirit we

combine them with the conjunction “and” according to the meaning of the terms of the Persons, such as Father, Son, Holy Spirit, so that there might be a Father and a Son and a Holy Spirit, that is to say a Person and a Person and a Person; wherefore, there are indeed three Persons. The term “God” is absolutely and in like manner predicated of each one of the Persons without the conjunction “and,” so that we cannot say God and God and God, but conceive of the second and third term as being said with regard to the subsisting Persons, propounding the second and third time without the conjunction “and” on account of there not being another and another God.

For it is not because the Father preserves his otherness with regard to the Son that the Father is God, for thus the Son would not be God. For if because the Father is Father, for this reason the Father is God, it would follow that since the Son is not the Father, then the Son would not be God. If the Son is God, he is not God in that he is Son. Similarly, the Father too is not God in that he is Father. They are God because of their Divine Essence, the essence of the Father and the Son. Through the Divine Essence the Father is God and the Son is God and the Holy Spirit is God.

And there is no division of the essence into each of the Persons so that there are three essences for the respective Persons. It is evident that the term “God” is not to be divided, since it signifies the essence; such a division would result in three gods. But just as the Father is essence, and the Son is essence, and the Holy Spirit is essence—yet there are not three essences—so too, the Father is God, the Son is God and the Holy Spirit is God; yet there are not three gods. For God is one and the same, since there is one and the same essence, [21] even if it is said that each of the Persons is essential and is God. For either it is necessary to say that there are three essences, that of the Father, that of the Son, and that of the Holy Spirit, inasmuch as the essence is proper to each of the Persons—something which is utterly unreasonable to maintain seeing that we do not call Peter, Paul and Barnabas three essences (for the essence is one and the same for such persons); or, we must state that the essence is one to which belong the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, although we know each of the Persons as essential, rightly and reasonably declaring that God is One, even though we believe each of the Persons to be God by reason of the communion of essence. Thus, inasmuch as the Father is different from the Son and from the Holy Spirit, we profess the three Persons

of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. In the same way, because the Father does not differ from the Son and the Holy Spirit according to essence, we say that there is one essence of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.

For since there is a distinction, there is a Trinity according to distinction, and since there is an identity, there is a Unity on account of the identity. Therefore, there is an identity of the Persons according to essence, and a Unity proper to Them on account of the essence. If according to essence there is a Unity of the Holy Trinity, it is clear that there is also a Unity according to the term "God." For this term designates the essence but not by furnishing its quiddity (since indeed the Divine Essence is incomprehensible, even unascertainable). Taken from a certain specific property belonging [22] to the essence, the term "God" intimates the essence, just as neighing and laughing are said to be specific properties of natures and indicate those natures of which they are the specific properties. Indeed there is a specific property of the eternal essence to which the Father, Son and Holy Spirit belong, that is to oversee all things, to perceive all things and to know all things, not only those things which actually exist, but also those things conceived by the mind. This property is proper to that essence alone. Indeed, that essence is the Cause underlying the entire universe and has created everything and governs everything as its own creation; it holds sway over human affairs by a certain appropriate and inexpressible word.

Consequently, the term "God," properly signifies that essence which truly governs the universe as the creator of everything. So then, while there is one essence to which belong Father, Son and Holy Spirit, and while the one term indicates this essence (namely, "God"), God will rightly be one according to the rationale of this essence, and there is no reason forcing us to say "three gods," just as there are not three essences. For since in the case of Peter, Paul and Barnabas we do not declare there to be three essences since they are of one essence, how much more so in the case of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit will we not declare this properly? For if the essence is not to be divided into three according to the persons, it is obvious that neither should God be, because the term "God" does not indicate Person, but rather the essence. For if the term "God" designated a Person, then only one [23] of the Persons would be called God—Person would be signified by this name God—just as the Father alone is called Father because

this name designates his Person.

But if someone were to say that we call Peter, Paul and Barnabas three individuated essences (it is clear that this means each his own), for this is quite accurate to say, let it be known that by an individuated essence (that is one's own) we wish to signify nothing other than an individual, in other words, a person. Wherefore, indeed, even if we say three individuated essences, that is, individual essences, we declare nothing other than three persons; whereas the term "God" does not follow suit upon the Persons, as has been shown. Neither does the term follow suit upon the individuated essence (in other words, individual essence), for the individual essence is the same thing as the person when used with respect to indivisible things. What then must be said regarding this, that we call Peter, Paul and Barnabas three Mans?¹⁷ Even though these are persons, the term "persons" does not signify the common essence in this usage; likewise, neither does the so-called individuated or individual essence, since this is the same thing as the person. For what reason do we say three "mans" exist of one essence—the term "Man" designates it—if we do not say it on account of the three persons nor because we speak of an individuated, or individual essence? Rather, we say this by a misuse of language and not correctly, on account of a certain customary usage arising out of necessary principles,¹⁸ which, however, we do not find in our analysis of the Holy Trinity so that we do not make the very same assertion with respect to the Trinity itself.

[24] These are the principles: the definition of Man is not always observed in the same individuals or persons, for while the former ones are dying others are coming into existence, and again while many of them still remain, yet others are being born, so that the defining measure of this nature, that is to say Man, is observed sometimes in these individuals here, sometimes in those there, sometimes in the very many and sometimes in the very few. Therefore, for this reason, that is the addition and subtraction, the death and birth of individuals, in whom the defining measure of Man is perceived, we are constrained to say "many mans" and "few mans" because of the change and alteration of the persons, the common usage being dis-

¹⁷ See discussion in the introductory section regarding the specialized use of this term by the translator

¹⁸ The same argument is present in *Ad Ablabium* (On Not Three Gods)

placed along with the definition of essence, so that somehow we number essences along with the persons.

No such thing ever results in the case of the Holy Trinity, for it is necessary to say that the self-same Persons exist and not another and another, always being the same and in just the same manner. We do not admit a certain addition resulting in a quaternity, nor a diminution into a duality. For neither is another Person begotten or brought forth from the Father or from one of the other Persons so that a quaternity arises from a former trinity; nor does one of these three Persons pass away even for the blink of an eye as it were, so that the trinity becomes a duality even in rational analysis. For there is absolutely no addition or diminution, change or alteration pertaining to the three Persons of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit so that our conception of the three Persons should be led astray and we be forced to admit "three gods."

Or again, all the persons belonging to Man [25] do not directly possess their being from the same person, but some from this one and some from that one, so that with respect to the individuals caused there are also many and diverse causes. But with regard to the Holy Trinity, such is not the case, for there is one and the same Person, that of the Father, from whom the Son is begotten and the Holy Spirit proceeds. Wherefore indeed, rightly so and boldly do we proclaim one God, one Cause together with its Caused Realities,¹⁹ since it co-exists with Them. For the Persons of the Divinity are not separated from one another either by time or place, not by will or by practice, not by activity or by passion, not by anything of this sort, such as is observed with regard to human beings. This alone is observed, that the Father is Father and not Son, and the Son is Son and not Father; and, likewise, the Holy Spirit is neither Father nor Son. For this very reason there is absolutely no necessity for anyone to trick us into calling the three Persons: "three gods;" just as we call many human beings "many persons" according to the aforesaid reasons.

Because according to the aforesaid reasons and not according to strict logic do we call the many persons of Man many mans; hence it is clearly obvious that Man, in and of itself, is one and cannot become many. As everyone agrees, Peter, Paul and Barnabas are called one Man as far as humanity is concerned. Consequently, in itself,

¹⁹ τὸν ἓνα αἰτίον μετὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ αἰτιατῶν.

that is to say insofar as Man is concerned, there cannot be many of them. To say many "mans" is a misuse of language and is not said in a proper sense. It is neither right nor possible that the common mis-usage should destroy the proper meaning and usage [26] for those who have a good understanding about this. Therefore, one must not end up saying with regard to the three Persons of the Divine Essence: "three gods," on account of the identity of the essence which is signified by the term "God" in the way described above.

And should someone say that the Scripture enumerates "three men," which it does, speaking in a superfluous manner—if someone tries to convict us from our own words, such a fellow does not seem to be a correct and devout hearer of the Scripture.²⁰ He is not directing texts against us about whether one ought to say "three gods," attending especially to the three Persons of the Divine Essence, because the Scripture which commends to us the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, namely God-the-Word, God-not-the-Word (that is to say, God the Father), and God the Holy Spirit, this Scripture altogether refuses to say "three gods," considering polytheism to be impious. Rather it always proclaims one God, neither confusing the Persons nor dividing the Divinity, guarding rather the identity of the Divinity in the specific character of three Hypostases or Persons. Well then, if he were correct and were providing a valid interpretation, understanding these matters according to the Scripture and not eagerly trying to confirm his own ideas, he would make inquiry seeking to learn the reason why the Scripture says "three men" while recognizing the one wholeness of Man. It says, "Man, like [27] grass are his days,"²¹ thereby proclaiming the singular commonality of the nature. For speaking of what pertains to the commonality of the nature it said this of one Man because it knew the one Man to be the entire Man and not many mans.

For listen and inquire as one who loves learning that the Scripture also, like a good mother, knowing her own little babies, that is, us humans, at times makes gurgling and cooing sounds.²² In just the same way, the Scripture accommodates herself using certain terms

²⁰ See Genesis 18 2

²¹ Psalm 102 15.

²² In *Contra Eunomium* 2 (CE 13), GNO 1 348,10-29, Gregory presents God as mother with these same characteristics

while not doing violence to the full expression, that is to say, she does not act unjustly to those who are able to partake of solid food. For not defining the “cooings” as dogmas, she does not harm the full expressions, but through compassion condescending to the level of the babies and imitating their speech, she brings them up to her level, leading them to the fullness of adulthood. Yet, nevertheless, the Scripture defines and teaches as doctrine the full expressions according to what is befitting to herself so that those being trained may be properly taught. Although it speaks of God having ears, eyes, a mouth, and other bodily parts, Scripture does not hand down as dogma that the Divinity is composed of various parts. But as we said before, making a metaphor from human realities to serve the need, as I said, of those unable to conceive incorporeal things by certain material and clear expressions, Scripture puts forward its teachings, saying that God is a spirit and everywhere, so that setting out from there it wisely teaches people to arrive at God’s simple uncircumscribability.

[28] In this way, does Scripture say “three men” according to customary usage so that it might not do violence to the common usage and the prevailing practice of the many; and it says “one” according to accuracy so as not to shake to its foundation the full expression and the reality seen in the nature of things. On the one hand we think it exercises condescension for the profit and advantage of those who are childlike in their thinking, yet on the other hand we state that doctrine has been put forward for the confirmation and transmission of the full understanding.

But certain people devoted to searching and eager to allow nothing to go unchallenged in order to harass with much work both the speakers and the listeners, as I would put it, neglect what has been said by us, and take what has not been handed down as a matter of common agreement and misuse it. They manufacture a likely story and say that just as we say a subsistence does not differ from a subsistence, *qua* subsistence, that is to say, insofar as it is a subsistence, and do not say according to this that all subsistences are one subsistence; or again, as we say an essence does not differ from an essence, *qua* essence, and do not say according to this that all essences are one essence; so too, we would say God does not differ from God, *qua* God, and do not say according to this that the three hypostases, concerning which the term God is predicated, are one God. Or again, when we say Man does not differ from Man, *qua* Man, we do not

abrogate the existence of three human beings, namely Peter, Paul and Barnabas. For an essence differs from an essence, not insofar as it is essence, but as “such and such” an essence, and a subsistence from a subsistence as “such and such” a subsistence. [29] In the same manner a Man differs from a Man, insofar as he is “such and such” a Man, or again a God differs from a God, insofar as he is “such and such” a God, for the term “such and such or such and such” is usually used with regard to two or more. But they are saying these things as we said. We will demonstrate that what they said is altogether capitious and nothing else. We will prevail simply by using what has been said, showing that it is not necessary to say “such and such” a God and “such and such” a God or “such and such” a Man and “such and such” a Man. Indeed, there is “such and such” an hypostasis of God and “such and such” an hypostasis of Man, for many are the hypostases of the one Man and we rightly say three hypostases of the one God.

Therefore, “such and such” is said when someone wishes to distinguish a particular from the general proper to that designation, to which “such and such” is compared. Thus we say that a Man is “such and such” an animal, having in mind to distinguish him from a horse, for example—a horse which has in common with him the name of animal, but which is differentiated from him with regard to rationality and irrationality. Something is distinguished from something else either by essence or by subsistence or by both essence and subsistence, and thus Man is distinguished from horse by essence, whereas Paul is distinguished from Peter by subsistence, and in addition the specific human subsistence is distinguished by both essence and subsistence from the specific subsistence of the horse. But since the case is clear when things differ simply by essence and when things differ according to subsistence and not according to essence, the further case will also be clear concerning things which are distinguished both according to essence and subsistence.

So let us thoroughly examine the argument concerning these things. Both they and we agree that things differing according to essence are said to be two or three essences, and things differing according to subsistence are said to be two or three subsistences. [30] But herein do we depart company when they say it is necessary to call Peter and Paul two Mans, but, we say this is not accurate speaking properly and according to a scientific account. We are not going to say any-

thing now about common parlance resulting from a misuse of language. Such a manner of speaking is able neither to refute something nor to substantiate

First of all, let it be made perfectly clear by us why we declare a Man and a horse, or a horse and a dog, to be different thanks to "such and such" an essence. Hence it is obvious that since they are differentiated from one another, it is according to the customary characterization of essence: rational or irrational, able to neigh, able to bark, and whatsoever other quality. For in saying this sort of essence we mean nothing else than, for example, a substance participating in life in contradistinction to one which is not, a substance having become capable of reason as distinct from one which is differing because of an irrational nature, a substance possessing the characteristic of being able to neigh and any other such quality whatsoever. Instead of such differences and characteristics something else is attached to the essence and also to every genus by which there is a distinction among the species under the genus. There is the designation "of this sort" or "of that sort." That is to say, the designation "an essence of this sort" is used in the place of saying perceptible or imperceptible, or the designation "an animal of that sort" is used in the place of the designation rational or irrational.

We say again that Paul differs from Peter according to the specific sort of subsistence of each one of them, since they differ from one another according to some of the things which constitute the subsistence and not the essence, i.e., baldness, height, fatherhood, sonship or anything else of this sort. [31] For it is clear that the species and the individual are not the same thing, that is the essence and subsistence. For if anyone speaks about the individual, i.e. the subsistence, he immediately directs the mind of the listener to look for someone curlyhaired, grey-eyed, a son, a father, et cetera. Whereas the term "species" (that is to say essence) directs the listener to an understanding, namely: a rational animal, mortal, capable of understanding and knowledge; an irrational animal, mortal, capable of neighing and the like. But since essence and individual (that is to say subsistence) are not the same thing, neither are the things which characterize the essence and the subsistence the same. And since these are not the same thing, neither is it possible to join them to the same terms, but the former are to be joined with words subsumed under essence or essences, and the latter to words referring to the individual.

Well then, there are three terms with regard to our investigation: essence, individual and Man. We connect the term "such" to essence in order to distinguish, as was said, the species from one another according to the essence itself. And again, likewise, we adjoin the term "such" to subsistence in order to differentiate the persons from one another, even though they have this name in common, that of subsistence, and thus differ from one another not in characteristics proper to essence, but rather according to so-called accidents.

Therefore, in what way do they intend to add the word "such" to the term "Man?" (For from what is commonly agreed to, disputed matters receive resolution.) Is "such" added to the essence? Therefore will individuals under the category of Man be distinguished from one another by a difference of essence? That is impossible, for in no wise does Paul differ from Peter according to essence, according to that which is predicated of Man. But as regards the subsistence? Therefore, "Man" would be indicative of the person [32] and not of the essence, something utterly preposterous to say, for Man signifies the general aspect of the essence and not the specific person, that of Paul, say, or of Barnabas. Therefore in no way is the word "such" added to the term "Man" according to the scientific meaning of the term. But if the common parlance stammers in the face of this and makes an unrestrained use of the terms pertaining to essence to designate the individual person, it does not employ the terms according to the accurate standard of logical science. But why do I inveigh against the customary misuse of language which is at a loss regarding things like this, forgetting that those trained in the scientific study of words propound in distinct and suitable terms what they understand? Often not communicating well with others the experts themselves employ the misuse of language in order to restate in other words what they have said.

But let us be clear about this that if we said concerning Peter and Paul that Man differs not at all from Man *qua* Man, except because it is this sort of Man, we were unable to say concerning them that essence also differs not at all from essence *qua* essence, except because it is this sort of essence. But since it is impossible to say this because one and the same essence belongs to Peter and Paul, therefore neither is the other possible, because the term "Man" is indicative of the essence. And since the term "such and such" is not logically added to the term "Man," therefore, neither do we correctly say two or three

Mans.

Consequently, if these matters concerning the term “Man” are admitted, how much more so will it be most right and befitting with regard to the eternal and Divine Essence not to say “such and such” a God meaning each of the hypostases, nor when referring to the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit to utter God and God and God, nor, even if by rational analysis, to profess three gods. [33] Therefore it is firmly established for us, rightly and logically, grounded in scientific reasons, that we profess one God, the Creator of the universe, even if God is contemplated in three Persons or Hypostases, that of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.

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St. Basil, the *baptismal* sources of the “life in Christ”, and the *charismatic* element in the life of asceticism.

The next section analyzes fundamental aspects of “following Christ” through asceticism: sexuality and abstinence, the hesychastic attitude, the trans-cultural and trans-confessional dimension of monasticism, and the significance of the heritage of spiritual direction. In they regard, two chapters are devoted to monastic life on the Holy Mountain Athos, and the ways in which the expression there of the “spiritual impulse” transcended national limitations.

The final section explores the mystical nature of the monastic phenomenon which aims at “participation in divine nature.” The emphasis once again is on the social dimension of spirituality and the sacramental dimension of asceticism. This section also constitutes the patristic, and perhaps more philosophical, underpinning of the previous section. Prof. Nikolaou introduces the reader to the ascetic thought of Gregory of Nyssa and Plotinus, the mystical theology of Dionysius and Maximus, as well to the ecumenical and ecclesial mind of Basil the Great and Nicholas Cabasilas.

There is, finally, a useful bibliography (with an emphasis on relevant Greek and German publications), and helpful indices (of Scriptural references, names, and subjects).

The underlying theme throughout this book is that monasticism is not an individualistic life-style, an escape from society, or an isolation in order to be with God. The fundamental principle that pervades monastic life and thought from earliest years is *love*. Asceticism at least in its most genuine expression – is a way of loving and knowing God, one another, and oneself. We need to remember this, and Prof. Nikolaou has offered us a very articulate reminder.

John Chryssavgis

Handmaids of the Lord: Holy Women in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, Joan M. Petersen (ed.), Cistercian Studies Series No. 143, (Kalamazoo MI: Cistercian Publications, 1996) pages 441.

This book is intended for the growing number of readers in two areas: first, for those interested in the history of the early Church and in the world of late antiquity; and second, for those concerned with the position of women in the Church and in society generally. The editor, Joan Petersen, was educated in Oxford and London. Her doc-

toral dissertation in the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great was published by the Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies (Toronto, 1984). A practicing and discerning Christian, Joan Petersen (who died in 1994) selected and translated this collection of contemporary descriptions of feminine asceticism in the first six centuries.

After a brief but useful, inasmuch as critical and historical introduction to feminine monasticism in the early centuries (pp. 15-38), Petersen presents a translation of the *Vitae* of Eastern and Western women from all around the early Roman world - in Asia Minor, North Africa, Egypt, the Holy Land, Italy, and Gaul. These widows, virgins, and even matrons lived ascetic, celibate and devout lives either in community or in their own households. They created a powerful tradition that influenced men and women throughout the centuries down to the present time.

The study of early feminine monasticism alerts us to the fact that the vitality and growth of the Church in the formative centuries was not only witnessed by the many theological debates and the eminent hierarchs of the period. The student of patristic thought cannot disregard the impact of certain key biographies or epistles to women of the time. For behind these nuns and heroines of the faith, there stood the masses who sought to emulate their "manly" virtues and who saw them as models to be imitated.

The place and role of women - whether saints or not - is a fascinating aspect of medieval life and thought, and the contemporary bibliography on this subject is forever growing. After the tenth century, Byzantine society in particular saw an increase in female literacy, and women there began to take an active part in religious controversies. During the first millennium, prominent women (such as those whose lives appear in this volume) and significant texts (such as the circulation of a *Miterikon*, which was analogous to the *Apophthegmata Patrum*) reveal insights into the role played by women in politics, administration, culture, religion, and society.

Nonetheless, evidence of extraordinary women reaches us primarily from the writings of men. Often we discover in these texts not a presence but an absence of women. This is why it is sometimes difficult to discern in the primary sources that which is actually written *about* women from that which is written *for* women. In this volume prepared by Petersen, the only woman's voice is that of a Gallic nun: Radegunde, who was also born into a noble family, and who in any

case lived at the very end of the period covered in this book. The other women - among whom are Macrina, Marcella and her companions, Paula the Elder and Paula the Younger, Melania the Elder and Melania the Younger - are described by their male counterparts and admirers, either bishops (such as Gregory of Nyssa and Jerome) or monastics (such as Palladius and Gerontius). Even this literary genre unfortunately became less frequent in later centuries, especially in the East, although this may be at least in part a result of the numerous destructions, crusades, and persecutions there.

This is a readable translation, which for the most adheres closely to the original Greek and Latin. The brief bibliography (pp. 435-41) is a select list of primary sources and their translations, together with some suggested titles that provide a general background to the persons and themes that are the subject matter of this book.

John Chryssavgis

Journeying into God: Seven Early Monastic Lives. T. Vivian (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996) pages 207.

Holy Women of Byzantium: Ten Saints Lives in English Translation, A.- M. Talbot (ed.) (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1996) pages 352.

One of the exciting developments of patristic scholarship has been, not only the discovery of many hitherto unknown or unrecognized texts of holy men and women of early or byzantine Christianity, but especially the re-discovery of the world that lies behind these texts that reveal the social, economic, historical and religious conditions of their time. There is, however, yet a further dimension that is unveiled in the careful reading of these *Lives*, and that is the prayerful life of men and women who, each of them through personal and particular (sometimes even peculiar) journeys, sought to relate to God.

The book by Tim Vivian (Lecturer in Religious Studies at California State University) contains the stories of *seven early monastics* (six men and one woman) in translations that have appeared in various publications. Each story is introduced by Vivian who explores the fundamental themes of the texts: the notion of "detachment", the concept of spiritual journey", monastic "transvestism", holiness and miracles, holiness and prayer, the monastic as a spiritual model, and

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The Orthodox reader will not agree with every description and every evaluation in this volume. But its major thrust is most welcome, a step in the return to the wisdom needed to read and experience the tradition of faith and to profit by it.

Stanley S. Harakas

Chrysostomos Konstantinidis (Metropolitan of Ephesos), *Ἡ Ἀναγνώριση τῶν Μυστηρίων τῶν Ἑτεροδόξων στίς διαχρονικές σχέσεις Ὁρθοδοξίας καί Ρωμαιοκαθολικισμοῦ* (The Recognition of the Sacraments of the Heterodox in the Diachronic Relationship between Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism). Epektasis Publications, Katerini, 1995 pp. 272 (in Greek).

The author of this book is well-qualified to write on issues of ecumenical significance. Metropolitan Chrysostomos of Ephesos is the highest ranking hierarch in the Church of Constantinople in the Holy Synod after the Ecumenical Patriarch; he is also Professor of Orthodox Dogmatic Theology at the once renowned Theological School of Halki; and he is Chairman of Inter-Church and Ecumenical Relations Synodical Commission of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. His own prolific writing over the years—with numerous articles, addresses and homilies recently appearing in monumental volumes—have established him as an authoritative, sound, and at the same time open-minded Church leader, who is able to maintain a balance between the need for both doctrinal depth and catholic breadth in bilateral and multilateral discussions between the Christian Churches.

In examining similarities and differences in the sacramental theology of the Catholic and Orthodox Churches, Metropolitan Chrysostomos first develops a theological definition of sacrament (pp. 46-9). There is no rigid tone of apology in his writing, but only a sincere effort to analyze systematically the development of doctrinal thought through the centuries in the Orthodox tradition, the later Confessions of Faith, as well as the more recent theological treatises of both Churches. The bibliographical material (pp. 225-249) cuts across historical and denominational barriers, although it is somewhat restricted in terms of publications—especially in the English language—over the last decade. The first section of this volume covers, from an Orthodox viewpoint (the emphasis of the author is clearly Pneumatological and ecclesiological), topics such as, sacraments and grace (pp. 50-52), the number of sacraments (pp. 66-68), and the “indelibility” and value of the sacraments (pp. 69-76).

The second section deals with the difficult issue of "economy" (οἰκονομία) in relation to precision (ἀκρίβεια) from a sacramental and canonical aspect, although the emphasis is less on the latter. The author is more concerned with discerning fundamental and clear methodical principles (cf. esp. pp. 195-203) as a basis for the discussion of prickly, almost prejudiced issues in the dialogue between Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism. This book is a confident response to current ecclesiological and ecumenical questions, that is both *consistent* with the Orthodox Patristic tradition (pp. 146-184) and *compassionate* in terms of an open spirit of love, especially in the analysis of the thorny problem of Uniatism (pp. 36-43), as well as the crucial matter of the reception of non-Orthodox into the Orthodox Church (pp. 185-94). The overriding theme of this book, as succinctly expressed in the introduction (pp. 18-19), is "ἀκρίβεια where it is necessary, οἰκονομία where it is called for."

This is an important voice from the center of Orthodoxy that provides the theological background to the numerous ecumenical endeavors of the Ecumenical Patriarchate throughout the centuries and especially in recent times. It also constitutes the firm ground for ongoing theological dialogue between the Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches.

Finally, a word should be said about the attractive publication of this work, which is one of the first fruits of a new publishing house in Greece, "Epektasis." The director, Yannis Papachronis, has in a matter of only two years produced an impressive array of books (over 40 of them) in areas ranging from Patristic sources, significant ecclesiastical issues and events, ascetic spirituality and hagiology, contemporary issues (such as a book on the ordination of women, which we hope to review) and liturgical themes. It is surely one of the more promising ventures of recent publishing in Greece.

John Chrysavgis

Aloys Grillmeier with Theresia Hainthaler, *Christ in Christian Tradition: The Church of Constantinople in the Sixth Century*, Vol. II, Pt. 2. Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1995, pp. 565.

The scholar of Byzantine history, Christology, ecclesiology or ecumenism will be happy to see this third book of the author's monumen-

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contrast to the world; it is the immanence of God *in relation to* the world. Versluis concludes his book with an emphasis on the spiritual nature of the body and on the celestial nature of the earth (pp. 185-93).

"Sophia" is the divinity of God and the createdness of creation. It is, however, more than this: Sophia reveals the "human" aspect of God and the "divine" aspect of creation. "Sophia" preserves both the luminosity and numinosity of God and creation alike. In this way, sophiology represents much more than an aesthetical or mystical experience of the world's beauty; it reveals the world as place of encounter with the personal God.

Versluis is aware that there is a need for "a life turned toward spiritual practice, and this turning is the process of *metanoia* that lasts beyond a lifetime spent in this unquiet world" (p. 145). Through such a conversion, "the eye of the heart opens to reveal the archetypal or spiritual world, which is alive with the 'outflowing breath' of God" (p. 170).

What is unveiled is a "visionary imagination" (ch. 11), an "apocalypse of the heart" (ch. 8), that reveals the spiritual dimensions of angelophany (ch. 1) or hierophany (ch. 6) in ourselves and in our world.

While this is not easy reading, it has been a while since I have enjoyed reading through a book like *Theosophia*. It is a book that skillfully guides us through our common spiritual heritage, reminding us that it holds the answers to many of the problems we have caused.

John Chryssavgis

Theodore S. Nikolaou. *Ἡ σημασία τῆς εἰκόνας στό μυστήριο τῆς οἰκονομίας* (*The Meaning of the Icon in the Mystery of Salvation*). Trans. from German into Greek by Constantine Nikolakopoulos Thessaloniki: Pournaras, 1992, pp. 186.

Readers familiar with the work of Professor Theodore Nikolaou, founder and director of the Institute of Orthodox Theology at the University of Munich, and editor of its official publication *Orthodoxes Forum: Zeitschrift des Instituts für Orthodoxe Theologie der Universität München*, now in its eighth year of publication, will welcome this collection of five studies on the history and theology of the icon. Originally written in German and published in a variety of academic journals between 1979 and 1991, the studies are here made available in Greek and accompanied by a useful eleven-page bibliography. Professor Nikolaou, who has resided in Ger-

many for the past twenty-five years, notes that his interest in the theology of the icon emerged as a response to the "theological indifference toward sacred art" characteristic of Western Christianity.

In the first study, "The Pedagogical Value of Art According to the Three Hierarchs," attention is drawn to Basil's analogy between the production of art with the creation of the cosmos, and between the creative activity of God and the work of the artist. Basil made use of Aristotle's categories to describe the complex web of relationships obtaining between matter, form, cause, instrumentality, and intentionality. Most important is Basil's emphasis on *mimesis*, a concept which is itself inherent in the very notion of "icon" as "likeness," and establishes a dynamic relationship between created images and their archetypes. The form of art envisioned by Basil is almost exclusively representational (with emphasis on painting and not sculpture) and conceived in terms analogous to, and governed by, the formal structures of literature: art is a species of language. In accordance with Basil's moral and social program, art has a teleological and eschatological function and should serve the individual and society as a means of aligning all created images, human and nonhuman, with their divine model. Like Basil, Gregory also understood art in the light of the creative activity of God, and similarly stressed its pedagogical value, although he seems to have acknowledged more fully the aesthetic dimension of art. For Chrysostom, the appearance of art in human history is a direct result of the Fall, and must be subjected to the strictures of a rigorous moral and ascetic program. For all three writers, art has a utilitarian and functional role to play in the anagogy of the soul to God. Delivered in 1978, and first published in 1979, this paper could not, of course, have taken advantage of the recent work of Thomas Mathews, *The Clash of Gods: A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), and Paul Corby Finney, *The Invisible God: The Earliest Christians on Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994) in view of which the author may wish to qualify some of his statements about the general context of early Christian art.

The second study, "The Continuation of the Christological Controversy after the Sixth Ecumenical Council," provides an important corrective to the notion that the christological controversy came to an end with the condemnation of monotheletism at the Sixth Ecumenical Council and that, as a result, the theology of the icon developed by the Seventh Council has nothing whatever to do with the christological work of the earlier councils. The author demonstrates that the christological controversy continued with-

out interruption through the eighth century and that the theology of the icon is intimately and inextricably bound up with the Christology of the councils.

Third, "The Veneration of Icons as the Paradigm of Theology and Piety in the Eastern Church according to John of Damascus," studies the concept of tradition in the writings of John of Damascus. The icon as a theological category is explained and defined, and its relation to its prototype is presented as a dialectic of similarity and difference. In a discussion of the veneration of icons, Basil's phrase, the "honor bestowed upon the image is given to the prototype," which became an iconophile slogan, is shown to have had, in its original context, nothing to do with the Christian liturgical veneration of icons.

The fourth paper is called "A Critical Study of the Sources of the Treatise *On Icons* and *Questions and Answers* and its Significance for the Condemnation of John Italos." John Italos (1023-83) was born in southern Italy, and moved to Constantinople around 1049 where he succeeded in stirring up considerable commotion in a variety of intellectual circles which resulted in his condemnation by a synod in 1082. One of the ten charges brought against him alleged that Italos had thrown a stone at an icon of Christ, although another source notes that the abuse which he hurled was only verbal. In any case, the synod charged Italos with "likening the holy icons to idols and rejecting their traditional veneration as a deception." Italos' views on icons remain unclear, although his short treatise *On Icons*, previously unknown, was discovered and published by Professor Perikles Ioannou in 1956. Professor Nikolaou identifies Italos' sources, which appear to be derived from John of Damascus' first and third orations against the iconoclasts, and suggests that Italos was, on this point, misinterpreted.

The final paper, "The Place of the Icon in the Liturgical Life of the Orthodox Church," presents the icon as serving the mystery of God's dispensation by rejecting all images of the Holy Trinity but not of the incarnate Word of God and his saints. The icon, and in particular the christological or festal cycle of icons, is a visual proclamation of the Gospel, and has an irreducible didactic function. By means of a sophisticated exploitation of architectural space, the arrangement and disposition of images in the church transforms the entire structure into a shorthand for the drama of salvation and into a sign of God's kingdom. The veneration of such images expresses and realizes the community's participation in the reality of salvation.

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Hellenic College and Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology Proclamation

**HIS EMINENCE ARCHBISHOP IAKOVOS
PRIMATE OF THE GREEK ORTHODOX ARCHDIOCESE
OF NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA
DISTINGUISHED PROFESSOR OF
ORTHODOX AND ECUMENICAL STUDIES**

Faithful hierarch and leader of God's people, pioneering ecumenical witness and advocate of Christian unity, champion of human rights and seeker after justice and peace, unrivaled homilist and educator of both the humble and the great, His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos has distinguished himself as one of the foremost personages of the twentieth century by his personal attributes and his exemplary service to the Church and humanity.

Archbishop Iakovos has been, above all, a Priest of God, a fervent Celebrant of the Divine Liturgy, a devoted Shepherd of God's people. His accomplishments are virtually innumerable. Under his energetic and wise leadership, the parishes of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese doubled in number, the Archdiocesan departments and institutions grew and flourished, the clergy and the faithful matured as a people inspired by his ecclesial and public witness, and inter-Orthodox relations were significantly advanced by his work through the Standing Conference of Canonical Orthodox Bishops of which he is the founder and chairman. After more than sixty years of untiring and shining labors as Deacon, Priest, and Archbishop, he bequeaths an Iakovian historical heritage as a foundation for the future growth of Orthodoxy in the Americas.

Deeply rooted in the universal vision of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, Archbishop Iakovos has been a leading advocate of Christian unity and of

positive relations between separated churches. As Bishop and Metropolitan of Melita (1955–1959), he was the Patriarchal representative to the World Council of Churches which, later, as Archbishop, he served as one of its co-Presidents for many years. A protagonist in the relations between the Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches at the highest levels, he has also supported bilateral dialogues in the United States with Anglicans, Lutherans, Southern Baptists, as well as Roman Catholics. He has been rightly acclaimed as one of the preeminent ecumenical leaders of our times.

Historical and personal knowledge of the oppression and suffering of the Christian people forged in Archbishop Iakovos an invincible conviction about human rights, religious freedom, equality, justice, and peace among nations. He marched side by side with Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. in Selma in 1965. He initiated a massive campaign to assist Cypriot refugees following the invasion of Cyprus in 1974. He has raised a prophetic voice against actions of oppressive governments and violent regimes at the international level. He has acted as friend and advisor to political leaders in the United States and abroad in the cause of freedom, morality, and human dignity. In resounding recognition of his sterling efforts, he has been awarded many humanitarian awards, including the Man of Conscience Award (1971), the Presidential Medal of Freedom (1980), the Ellis Island Medal of Honor (1986), and the John LaFarge Memorial Award for Interracial Justice (1987).

Archbishop Iakovos has also been a lover and promoter of learning and education. He is known as an ardent student of the Scriptures, an eloquent preacher of the Gospel, an enthusiastic supporter of education in the classical sense of *paideia*, that is, intellectual excellence and the formation of moral character which give nobility to culture and civilization. He has served as Professor and Dean of Holy Cross at both Pomfret and Brookline. He has generously supported theological education, Greek education, and religious education. He has encouraged students of Holy Cross and clergy of the Archdiocese to seek higher levels of training and education. Through lectures and essays, he has expounded the classical values of excellence, balanced judgment, and holistic understanding of life. As a tribute to his achievements, he has received more than forty awards and honorary degrees from colleges, universities, and other institutions, including the honorary degree of Doctor of Theology from Hellenic College and Holy Cross. Moreover, the new and beautiful library of Hellenic College and Holy Cross, soon to be constructed, is to bear his name.

Your Eminence, the community of Hellenic College and Holy Cross is

proud today to acknowledge all these stellar achievements as an international religious leader, prominent ecumenist, noted humanitarian, and dedicated educator. But to us you are even more: you are our Spiritual Father, our Patron and Pedagogue, our Archpriest who rejoices in our strengths and is compassionate with our weaknesses (Hebrews 4.15), a Christian radiant with “whatever is true, whatever is lovely, whatever is gracious” (Philippians 4.8), a person gifted with nobility of soul and golden words. As former Professor and Dean, as well as Chairman of the Board of Trustees of our Institution for nearly four decades, you have poured out your soul, in the words of Saint Paul, “as a libation upon the sacrificial offering of (our) faith” (Philippians 2.17) in support of our two Schools in both triumphant and difficult times. You have led us across mountains and valleys, seas and waves, to a point where we might glimpse the Promised Land of the future of Orthodoxy as it seeks to affirm its identity and mission in the post-modern world.

Your Eminence, in recognition and appreciation of all your accomplishments and contributions to the Orthodox Church, humanity, and our Institution, we have asked you to give us the singular honor and privilege of proclaiming you Distinguished Professor of Orthodox and Ecumenical Studies of Hellenic College and Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology. ΤΙΜΗΣ ΕΝΕΚΕΝ.

Proclaimed at the Commencement Exercises
May 18, 1996

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ADDITIONAL REVIEWS

Gilbert Dagron, Pierre Riché, André Vauchez, *et al.* *Évêques, moines et empereurs (610-1054)*. "Histoire du christianisme des origines à nos jours," vol. 4. Paris: Desclée, 1993. Pp. 1049.

This weighty (literally as well as figuratively) tome is the fourth in a projected fourteen-volume history of Christianity from its beginnings to the present (for some reason, the three volumes dealing with the medieval period – 4, 5, and 6 – were issued in reverse order). It therefore follows in the path of other multi-volume church historical works such as the ten-volume "History of the Church" (*Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte*) edited by Hubert Jedin. It is more or less coextensive chronologically with Vol. 3 of the latter, although it also includes some of the time period covered in Vol. 2 of the *Handbuch*. In contrast to the earlier work, one of the most positive features of this new volume on medieval church history is the amount of supporting material it contains. In addition to extensive annotation and chapter bibliographies, there is a general bibliography in the back as well as a glossary of Byzantine ecclesiastical terminology. Thirty-three maps interspersed throughout the text show, among other things, the geographic extent of the Byzantine, Jacobite, Armenian and Nestorian churches; the influence of Irish, Athonite, and Cluniac monasticism; and important areas and cities. A general chronology of 26 pages juxtaposes important events in both East and West. There are also tables of Byzantine emperors and patriarchs of Constantinople, and of popes, Frankish/German emperors, and French kings. This useful additional material is not without its problems, especially with respect to the maps and illustrations. The quality of some of the 56 archeological, architectural and iconographic illustrations is poor, and at times illustrations dating from a late period (e.g., 12th to 15th century) are used to illustrate an event of a much earlier period. Also, some of the maps are too small, and the organization and placement is occasionally illogical for multiple maps which cover the same geographical area for different churches. But these are minor complaints compared to the general value of the illustrations and especially of the maps.

Even more important is the subject matter of the volume. Again, a comparison with Vol. 3 of Jedin's *Handbuch* is revealing. In Jedin, the material on the Byzantine church is covered by the well-known Byzantine church historian Hans-Georg Beck, but it is less than one-fifth as long as the material on the Western church. And the Byzantine church is the only Eastern

church treated; the Armenian, Georgian, Jacobite and Nestorian churches are scarcely mentioned, if at all. By contrast, Dagron (a noted Byzantinist) and his associates have devoted well over half the present volume to the various Eastern churches, reflecting the importance of the Christian East during this period of church history. The book is divided into four unequal parts, with Parts One and Two (almost 600 pages) encompassing the Eastern churches. Nor are the non-Byzantine churches marginalized. Although not as long as Part One on the Byzantine church (written primarily by Dagron), Part Two examines the Jacobite, Maronite, Melkite and Nestorian churches under Islam (by Gérard Troupeau) as well as the Armenian (Jean-Pierre Mahé) and Georgian (Bernadette Martin-Hisard) churches – much of this material has been virtually unavailable before to all but specialists in these fields. I cannot think of another general volume on church history which has taken such an evenhanded approach to surveying *all* of Christianity.

At the same time, the value placed on the Eastern churches does not detract from attention to the Western church. Pierre Riché, the principal author of Part Three (with Jean-Marie Martin and Michel Parisse), has done an admirable job covering the Western church from the end of the papal reign of Gregory the Great (treating the various national churches, such as Merovingian, Visigothic and Anglo-Saxon) through the Carolingian period to the beginnings of the reformed papacy. As the title of the volume suggests, all three parts examine the various influences on the Christian Church arising from the cross-currents among hierarchs, rulers, and monastic leaders and centers. However, another major influence on the Church – liturgy – is treated very little. Since liturgical changes tend to arise from parishes or monastic communities, both areas of strong lay influence, this is an unfortunate omission. Part Four of the work deals with the conversions and early church histories of the Slavic, Scandinavian, and Magyar (Hungarian) peoples. The treatment of these “New Christendoms”, as they are called by Jerzy Kloczowski and Christian Hannick, is divided into Western and Byzantine missionary efforts and spheres of influence.

Colin Morris, in a review of this book in the *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, has pointed to the problems of editorial coherence and consistency, particularly when an event is examined in more than one section of the book. I suppose that such problems are inevitable in such a massive tome. What has impressed me is the accuracy, the depth of coverage, and the well-grounded, critical and occasionally creative analyses of the historical material, even in areas that have already been much examined, such

as iconoclasm in the Byzantine church or papal reform in the West. *Évêques, moines et empereurs* is a remarkable volume which is more comprehensive and more useful than any of its forerunners. My most fervent wish is that someone will translate it into English as soon as possible so that it can be used in church history courses here in the United States.

Valerie A. Karras

Dumitru Staniloae, *The Experience of God*. Translated and edited by Ioan Ionita and Robert Barringer. Foreword by Bishop Kallistos Ware. Brookline: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1994. Pp. xxviii + 280.

The Experience of God is an English translation of the first half-volume of Archpriest Dumitru Staniloae's three-volume *Theologia ortodoxa dogmatica*, first published in Romania in 1978, the German translation of which was completed in 1995. Fr Dumitru died in October 1993, in his ninetieth year, as this volume was in the press. In his contribution to the *Festschrift* for Fr Dumitru's ninetieth birthday (which turned out in the event to be a *Denkschrift*), the great French Orthodox thinker, Olivier Clément, hailed him as "certainly today the greatest Orthodox theologian." The truth of that acclamation is thoroughly borne out by his Orthodox Dogmatics, and is even evident from the first half-volume, now available in English. Fr. Dumitru is known and revered in Romania for his life-long commitment to making the riches of the Orthodox theological and spiritual tradition available in his native language, and also for his immense labors as a religious journalist, interpreting the 'interesting times' through which he lived to his fellow-Romanian Christians who shared them with him. For his pains he was imprisoned for five years. His most lasting contribution to the spiritual and intellectual life of Christian Romania will certainly be his translation of the *Philokalia*, greatly augmented compared with the original edition of St Nikodimos the Hagiorite and St Makarios of Corinth, and augmented not least by its inclusion of the major theological works of such as St Maximos the Confessor, St Symeon the New Theologian, and St Gregory Palamas. That fact indicates his commitment to making Orthodox theology available beyond the scholarly world, and also suggests that he sees Orthodox theology in terms of a Neo-Patristic synthesis, to use the expression of Fr Georges Florovsky. Fr Dumitru's Orthodox Dogmatics is, in fact, the first attempt to spell out what might be meant by

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George D. Georgopoulos, *Κοινωνιολογία τῆς Θρησκείας (Sociology of Religion)*. Athens: n.p., 1989. Pp. 175.

The present volume is an excellent textbook on the philosophy of religion. The topics discussed and analyzed in the book are the meaning of religion, the relation of God and humanity, the meaning of the holy, and the immortality of the soul.

The volume is divided into the following three parts. In the first part, with a critical method, the author develops particular concepts of religion, types of religions, the relation of God to human beings, and he analyzes the concept of the holy. The author provides an overall view of these themes in order to help the reader understand the main themes of philosophy of religion. In the second part, the author discusses the various theories of religion by several philosophers on theocentrism and anthropocentrism. He also discusses nature as viewed by Christianity and contemporary science. Topics discussed in the third part are the several views on the concept of the soul, the reality of the soul, the relation of soul and body, and a criticism on the immortality of the soul.

The author articulates the philosophical issues on religious issues in such a way as to guide the student into understanding the difficult discussions. The author analyzes the ancient and modern views of religion. He gives an excellent history of each topic of the various philosophers through the ages. He discusses God's existence presenting proofs for the existence of God. He discusses and offers a hermeneutic for the concepts of the holy with special reference to Rudolf Otto. He presents theodicy and the various views on the problem of evil. In his discussion of the relation of God and humanity, he presents the various philosophical-religious systems. In the section on the soul he gives various views on the nature of soul. He presents the views of Plato and Aristotle on the proofs for the existence of the soul and its immortality, and relates these concepts to Christianity. Furthermore, he presents the New and Old Testament views of the soul and several views of modern scientists.

I am impressed with this textbook for its clarity and analytical method which guide the reader to a better understanding of the issue of philosophy of religion. The book is an ideal text for a university course in the philosophy of religion. It is a textbook that provides a deeper understanding of both philosophy and religion.

George C. Papademetriou

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Stanley Samuel Harakas, *Living the Faith: The Praxis of Eastern Orthodox Ethics*. Minneapolis: Light and Life Publishing Company, 1992. Pp. xvi+416.

In this book Fr. Harakas completes the second in a proposed three volume work on Eastern Orthodox ethics. The first was *Toward Transfigured Life: The Theoria of Eastern Orthodox Ethics*. The third will address questions of social ethics. Taken together they will represent the most fundamental, comprehensive, and systematic reframing of Orthodox Christian ethics in the modern era, the point of departure for all future discussions.

If the early Christian centuries were preoccupied with primarily dogmatic questions, our time is consumed with ethical and moral questions. To a large degree these great ethical dilemmas have become for us what the dogmatic struggles were for the early Church: the means by which the Church explicates for the world the true significance of God's self-revelation in the person of Jesus Christ. It is simply another indication that the two disciplines of dogmatics and ethics are intimately tied. Our understanding of God and His relationship to the world has a direct impact on our own actions. And conversely, our own actions must be reflective of our own faith. Orthodoxy (*orthē doxa*) understood as "correct belief," "true worship," and "orthopraxis" (p. 42).

In this current volume Fr. Harakas lays out the Orthodox Christian worldview – an Orthodox cosmology – and how this informs both personal and social action, what he calls an "informed praxis" of the Christian life (p. 5). He begins by outlining some of the theological categories for understanding and interpreting action (a brief summary of his first volume). He then moves to describing how Christian ethical action – *praxis* – is a matter of right relations: first with God, then with ourselves (both the spiritual and physical aspects of ourselves), and then the other, our neighbor. He systematically addresses specific traditional and current ethical dilemmas working through the moral reasoning process from the Orthodox Christian perspective.

In my opinion, this aspect of the book is its greatest strength. Fr. Harakas remarkably connects traditional Orthodox moral thinking to the basic questions of modern life that patristic writers could not even imagine, much less anticipate. He begins to instruct the reader on how to approach the analysis of actual problems of proper Christian action by weaving Scripture, patristic wisdom, and modern social scientific insight into an Orthodox "common sense" that is profound in its quiet simplicity. This volume is a must, not only for pastors and pastoral counselors, but also for all of those who would wish to understand the heart of Orthodox Christian living.

Nicholas K. Apostola

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Local Ecumenism: The Challenge and Opportunity

THOMAS FITZGERALD

I

Students of Church History now recognize that the tragic divisions which afflict Christianity today did not take place at once, and they did not take place in a vacuum. We can not accurately pinpoint the 'date' of any of the great divisions. While certain dates may be identified for sake of convenience, a closer examination always reveals that each division was a gradual process which occurred over the course of decades or centuries and frequently differed from one region to another.

The divisions in the Christian East following the Council of Chalcedon in 451 did not become formalized at least until at least a hundred years after the council. The schism between the Church of Rome and the Church of Constantinople in the Middle Ages was a gradual one which occurred in a period of about two hundred years from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries. Likewise, the Sixteenth Century schisms between the Church of Rome and some of its daughter Churches in Western Europe were divisions which did not become solidified for decades. At the heart of these divisions are serious issues of faith and practice. Yet, none of these divisions took place in a vacuum. We need to remember that the theological and doctrinal issues were always compounded by cultural, nationalistic, political, and economic factors.

Indeed, some Church Historians would argue that the fundamental theological differences probably could have been resolved if the atmosphere had not become contaminated by politics and polluted by the lack of mutual respect and good will. Divisions became enduring when they came to be expressed at the local level especially through differences in worship.

Division ultimately reflects an absence of love. This is the opinion of St. Maximos the Confessor. He says: "Believe me, my children, nothing else has caused schisms and heresies in the church but the fact that we do not love God and our neighbor."¹ This rather bold statement comes from a person who suffered greatly as a result of church divisions. Yet, his words remind us that the absence of love is the fundamental impediment to the resolution of doctrinal and theological differences.

It also seems clear that division breeds division. The fact that when theological distortions and extremes were not corrected they led to additional schisms. The fact that Christian history was misunderstood led to greater misunderstandings. The fact that opportunities for dialogue were reduced led to greater alienations.

Most of us would certainly abhor the extremism of the Branch Davidian cult in Texas. But, if we are honest, we would have to admit that this tragedy is but one abhorrent result of the historic Christian divisions which have led to greater division, of alienation and greater alienation. The Texas tragedy and countless others like it are the rotten fruit of Christian divisions.

Fr. Georges Florovsky has reminded us of the tragic consequences of the loss of a 'Common Mind' among Christians. Christian disputes in the Early Church were generally resolved, he tells us, because that there was a sense of the 'Common Mind'. Even in their temporary alienation, Christians continued to see each other as members of the same Church.

Fr. Florovsky tells us that permanent separation of the Christian East and Christian West in the Middle Ages was preceded by the decay of the common mind and of a sense of mutual responsibility within the one body. He tells us that when unity was finally broken, this was not so much because agreement could not be reached on certain doctrinal issues but because the universe of discourse had already been disrupted. Fr. Florovsky says that "the point was reached at which the memories of the common past were obliterated and faded away, and Christians came to live contentedly in their own particular and partial worlds, mistaking them for the catholic whole."²

II

One of the most significant characteristics of Christianity today is the inclination towards reconciliation and the restoration of visible unity which

¹ St. Maximos the Confessor, cited by John Moschos, PG 87:2925.

² Georges Florovsky, "The Orthodox Churches and the Ecumenical Movement Prior to 1910," *A History of the Ecumenical Movement*, ed. Ruth Rouse and Stephen Charles Neill (London: SPCK, 1954) 171.

is generally known as the Ecumenical Movement. The years which have passed since the beginning of this century have witnessed a profound drive to understand the differences among Christians and to overcome the doctrinal barriers to reconciliation and visible unity.

Today, in every major tradition of Christianity, many persons have come to see that division among Christians is not normal. Division is a scandal which compromises the Gospel and which impedes the mission of the Church in the world. Many have come to hear more clearly the prayer of the Lord "that all may be one. As you Father are in me and I in you, may they also be in us so that the world may believe that you have sent me" (John 17:20).

There is an intimate relationship between our belief and our mission to the world. Can we proclaim a God who calls us to unity and at the same time be a people disunited? Can we preach the Gospel of Reconciliation and at the same time be so alienated among ourselves?

In the fourth Century, St. Basil the Great recognized the tragic consequences of divisions. Although he is remembered as a strong defender of the Faith of the Church, he was also a person who recognized the tragedy of disunity and was a person of reconciliation. Listen to his words: "Nothing separates us from one another, brothers, unless we establish the separations by our deliberate choice. How can we fail to be ashamed of our isolation? How can we fail to see that our break of unity is nothing less than a disaster?"³

Under the leadership of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, the Orthodox Church has been involved in the developments of the contemporary Ecumenical Movement since the early days of this century. The Patriarchal Encyclical of 1920 is viewed by many as an historic document which challenged the churches to enter into a new relationship designed to overcome prejudices and misunderstandings, and move towards reconciliation. Ever since that time, theologians of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, including Fr. Georges Florovsky, have been actively involved in ecumenical dialogues and witness.⁴

The Ecumenical Movement today has many expressions and there is not always a consistent vision among those who are committed to the process. I share the concern of many Orthodox theologians who sense unhealthy shifts in ecumenical priorities in some quarters. The importance of theo-

³ St. Basil, Epistle 203.

⁴ Thomas FitzGerald, "The Patriarchal Encyclicals on Christian Unity," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 22:3 (1977) 299.

logical dialogue which aims towards mutual understanding and reconciliation must be constantly affirmed. The goal of visible unity in the Apostolic Faith must always inspire our discussions. The centrality of prayer for healing and reconciliation must nurture our encounters.

So, with this in mind, let me say again that the Ecumenical Movement is multifaceted. Frequently more attention is paid to the very public and highly publicized expressions of this movement toward greater understanding and reconciliation. When Pope and Patriarch meet there is great public attention. It is significant when an Assembly of the World Council Churches convenes. It is significant when theological dialogues between divided Churches are established or when they are suspended. These are important aspects of the Ecumenical Movement and they are the aspects which generally receive greatest attention.

I certainly do not want to underestimate the significance of these events. I am personally committed to theological dialogue and I believe that the classical points of doctrinal differences among Christians must be resolved in a clear and unambiguous manner. Indeed, I feel deeply honored that the Ecumenical Patriarchate has given me many opportunities to serve our Church in her theological dialogues with other Christians. This is an important ministry which is critical for the Church today.

But, I also believe that we should be careful not to think that these impressive public events and formal dialogues are the only expressions of the quest for Christian understanding and reconciliation. They certainly are not the only expressions of the Ecumenical Movement.

The process of Christian reconciliation and unity is multilateral. There are many forums and many opportunities where Christians have the occasion to share in the reconciling work of Christ. These other occasions may not always receive great publicity. But, they are important forums in which mutual trust and understanding are being cultivated. They are important places where the 'common mind' is being recovered.

III

It is certainly true that the degree of "Local Ecumenism" can differ greatly from place to place. In this discussion, particular attention will be given to the forms of local ecumenism which exist here in the greater Boston area but which are replicated to some degree in other major metropolitan areas of the United States and in other countries. Clearly, in some parts of the world there is very little "Local Ecumenism." And, in those places, we frequently find issues of Christian division contributing to the divisions

within the society. In some places, the Ecumenical Movement in general has not matured sufficiently to be expressed at the local level or at what might be called the "grass roots" level. In other places, involvement in ecumenical activities may be the prerogative of the "specialist" who have neglected to involve other members of their Church in the process of Christian reconciliation.

With these qualifications in mind, I would like to identify five forums or places where we are able to speak of "Local Ecumenism."

Firstly, there are those local organizations which bring together clergy and laity from the various churches for theological dialogue and for common Christian witness. These organizations differ from region to region. With this in mind, permit me simply to note some of those which exist in this area.

There are: the Massachusetts Council of Churches, the Worcester County Ecumenical Council, the Cape Cod Council of Churches, the Church Women United, the Massachusetts Bible Society, the Massachusetts Commission on Christian Unity, the Greater Boston Church Leaders Covenant, the Envoys for Ecumenism, the Boston Theological Institute, and the Fellowship of St. Sergius and Alban.

In addition to this impressive list of important ecumenical organizations, most cities have groups which bring clergy together regularly for mutual support, common study, and fellowship. All of these groups reflect the advances in the Ecumenical Movement in recent decades generally while struggling often with the practical difficulties of witness and cooperation which our divisions continue to present.

In terms of their composition and their mission today, most of these ecumenical organizations could not have existed fifty years ago. They are the visible fruits of the progress which has been made in ecumenical relations. And now, they too contribute to the process in very important ways. I believe that these organizations formally bear witness to Fr. Florovsky's observation that "there are many bonds still not broken, whereby the schisms are held together in a certain unity."⁵

Secondly, there are many places where Christians from different traditions are coming together at truly the "grass roots level". These would include ecumenical Bible Studies, spirituality groups, and Marriage Encounter Programs. These would also include food banks, soup kitchens and social service agencies. In some cities, parishes of different Churches have actually entered into formal covenants which encourage common witness wherever presently possible. In some places, there is an informal

⁵ Georges Florovsky, "The Boundaries of the Church," *Church Quarterly Review* 117 (1933) 131.

or formal agreement to share resources. In the town of Kingston, Massachusetts, for example, the Orthodox Parish of St. Mark of Ephesus uses the local Roman Catholic church building for its Sunday Liturgy. Such forms of practical cooperation among the still divided churches would have been inconceivable only forty years ago.

In the early days of the Ecumenical Movement, the theological dialogues were carried out by clergy and theologians. Now, we are confronted with a new dimension. Lay men and women have become active participants in the movement towards reconciliation. They meet each other not as strangers coming from ethnic and religious ghettos, but as neighbors and friends. The laity has become in many places strong advocates for reconciliation and unity.

Thirdly, the quest for Christian spiritual growth and nourishment has brought divided Christians together through a common literature of spirituality. Orthodox, Roman Catholics and Protestants, who place a high priority on the spiritual life, have been nurtured and guided by writers coming from many Christian traditions. These would include: Thomas Merton, Bishop Timothy Ware, George Maloney, Kenneth Leech, Richard Forester, Basil Pennington, Metropolitan Anthony Bloom, Anthony Coniaris, Jean Vanier and Henri Nouwen.

The themes expressed by these authors reflect that insights of the mystical and spiritual writers of the Early Church. This means that many Christians today are gaining a renewed appreciation for the Church before the great divisions. Through a study of the early traditions of Christian spirituality many Christians are moving more deeply into our common Christian history and recovering a common heritage. It is, in some sense, an expression of what Fr. Florovsky called, an ecumenism in time.⁶

Fourthly, there are special occasions when divided Christians intentionally come together for public prayer. In many cities, it is common to have ecumenical prayer services during the Week of Prayer for Christian Unity in January, on the eve of Thanksgiving Day, as well as during the Advent or Lenten seasons.

These special prayer services for Christian Unity have an intrinsic goodness and power which should not be underestimated. Our prayer for unity reminds us that Christ is the Lord of the Church and that he calls us to a continuous *metanoia*. Only, this change of heart will enable us to move beyond our own prejudices and move towards a deeper understanding of the Apostolic Faith. We cannot overlook the fact that prayer for Christian unity has been a powerful and healing force in the Ecumenical Movement.

⁶ Georges Florovsky, "The Quest for Christian Unity and the Orthodox Church," *Theology and Life* 4 (August, 1961) 202.

Finally, I believe that we can not fail to note the religious makeup of most American families and extended families. Until about about fifty years ago, it was unusual for persons of two different Christian traditions to marry. When they did, it was customary for one to be compelled to join the Church of the other.

Today, marriages between Christians of different traditions is the norm. For example, statistics for the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese in America indicate that more than 80% of marriages in the Orthodox Church are so called "mixed" or inter-Church marriages. And, this figure does not include those Orthodox who are married in other Churches. This represents a dramatic development over the past few decades.

Now, the consequences of this fact have not been studied or fully digested by the Churches. In fact, the reality seems to be ignored by many. Or, it is a reality which is viewed as a "problem."

Yet, one thing these inter-church marriages is certainly doing is bringing Christians of different traditions much closer together. No longer is the Catholic or Protestant or Orthodox viewed as "the other" who lives on the other side of town, in the other village, or the other country. Now, the Orthodox, the Catholic or the Protestant may be your wife, your father-in-law, your sister-in-law, or your cousin. Most of us have families or extended families which include relatives who are members of churches other than our own.

The very existence of these families is a challenge to the "us and them" mentality which inhibits genuine reconciliation.

Yes, the faithful husband and wife in an inter-church marriage must bear the burdens of Christian divisions in a very special way. But, at the same time these faithful people, if given proper support and guidance, also have the opportunity to herald the unity of all believers in Christ.

IV

If the divisions among Christians occurred over decades and centuries, then it seems that the reconciliation of Christians will also occur over the course of time. It is a process.

The process of Christian reconciliation is carried on not by faceless institutions and agencies but by faithful Christians. We know that prejudice, misunderstanding, and parochialism have not been eradicated between Christians of different traditions, and especially between Christian theologians of different traditions. Yet, many of us believe that the reconciliation

of Christians and the quest for the visible unity of the churches are rooted in the Gospel, and are the will of God. As persons baptized into Christ, we have the free choice either to reject this process of reconciliation or to participate in it as best we can.

Fr. Georges Florovsky spoke of this ecumenical imperative at the first Assembly of the World Council of Churches in 1948. He said: "It is not enough to be moved towards ecumenical reconciliation by some sort of strategy, be it missionary, evangelistic, social or any other, unless the Christian conscience has already become aware of the greater challenge, by the Divine challenge itself. We must seek unity or reunion not because it might make us more efficient or better equipped in our historical struggle...but because unity is the Divine imperative, the Divine purpose and design, because it belongs to the very essence of Christianity. Christian disunity means nothing less than the failure of Christians to be true Christians. In divided Christendom, nobody can be fully Christian, even if one stands in the full truth and is sure of his complete loyalty and obedience to the truth "once delivered to the saints" —for no one is permitted freedom from responsibility for others."⁷

The various expressions of local ecumenism are contributing to this process of understanding and reconciliation in a very dramatic manner. So long as they are faithful to God's will, these expressions are contributing to the restoration of the "Common Mind" among Christians. They are reflections of the "Divine imperative" These expressions of "Local Ecumenism" therefore, have a powerful significance in and of themselves.

The expressions of "local ecumenism" are also providing the backdrop, the context and the impetus for fruitful theological dialogue. We can not undertake our theological discussions on the unity of the Church without paying attention to these significant expressions of "Local Ecumenism" and to the issues which they raise.

At the same time, we need to recognize the inherent danger of some aspects of "Local Ecumenism." The danger is that some expressions of "Local Ecumenism" can lose their theological basis and ecclesiological significance. This can take place when the harsh reality of schism is disregarded or when there is a reduction of the Christian Faith to its most common denominator. Fr. Georges Florovsky always cautioned against underestimating the real tragedy of disunity. And, likewise, he also reacted strongly against any form of doctrinal minimalism.

Clearly, we all need to see that the quest for reconciliation and visible unity must be a unified effort of the churches. This effort requires theo-

⁷ Georges Florovsky, "Ecumenical Aims and Doubts," *Sobornost* 3:4 (1948) 126-127.

logical dialogue at various levels among the churches. It also requires expressions of "Local Ecumenism" which involve all the People of God. Each dimension of the Ecumenical Movement needs to be enriched by the other.⁸

We must do this, however, with a sense of God's actions and activities in the present. The relationships between the major churches are not the same as they were fifty years ago. We must approach the challenge of disunity ever mindful of this fact. While we must continue to address the historic issues which have divided Christians and the churches, we must do this in such a manner which recognizes and affirms the activity of the Spirit today. The Living God has not abandoned us. Our challenge is to remain faithful to him.

These days we are also especially mindful of the ministry of Patriarch Athenagoras. His name will forever be associated with the movement toward reconciliation and unity among Christians. Listen now to his words on love, and the intimate relationship between truth and love.

Those who accuse me of sacrificing Orthodoxy to a blind obsession with love, have a very poor conception of truth. They make it into a system which they possess, which reassures them...when what it really is ... is the living glorification of the living God, with all the risks involved in creative life.

And we do not possess God. It is he who holds us and fills us with his presence in proportion to our humility and love. Only by love can we glorify the God of love, only by giving, and sharing, and sacrificing oneself ... can we glorify the God who sacrificed himself to save us, and went to death, the death on the cross.

But I would go further. Those who reproach me for sacrificing truth to love have no confidence in the truth. They shut it up, they lock it up. ... But I say, if the truth is the truth, we must not be afraid for it; let us give it, let us share it, let us show it in fullness, let us welcome all that there is of light and love in the experience of our brethren. If we continue in this attitude, then truth will become clear in itself, it will conquer all limitations and inadequacies from within. Let us enlarge our hearts.⁹

The healing of Christian divisions and the restoration of a visible unity will, in the final analysis, be the result of countless acts of respect and trust, of mercy and forgiveness, of listening and healing, of inspiration and

⁸ Kyriaki FitzGerald, "The Faith and Order Movement: An Opportunity for Assessment," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 37:3-4 (1992) 344-345.

⁹ Patriarch Athenagoras, cited in Olivier Clement, *Dialogues avec le Patriarche Athenagoras* (Paris: Fayard, 1964) 310-311.

nurture, of theological reflection and guidance, of prayer and fasting. Ultimately, reconciliation will be the fruit of love for one another in the name of Christ and through Christ who has reconciled us with the Father in the Spirit. To this Triune God of reconciliation, we offer glory, honor and worship, now and forever, and unto ages of ages. Amen.

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Local Ecumenism and the Neo-Patristic Synthesis of Father Georges Florovsky¹

RODNEY L. PETERSEN

Local Ecumenism is not provincial. It reflects the significance of the actuality and mystery of the Incarnation in a given setting. Since the first preaching of the gospel this premise in Christian thinking has seen a continual opening of fissures in the human experience as new foundational theologies have issued forth. Different Christian churches and communities have resulted from these lava flows of the Spirit. The power of that Spirit was one for Father Georges Florovsky. That Spirit, the triune God, and the Christian movement itself are well understood and defined in terms of what has been called a “neo-patristic synthesis” of faith. In Florovsky’s understanding this meant a disposition toward the Greek classical heritage as informed by the Christian scriptures and tradition.² The implications of this perspective for aspects of local ecumenism is the topic that I would like to explore in this study with reference to Florovsky’s work, first, with

¹ I want to thank His Grace, Bishop Methodios of Boston, His Excellency, Metropolitan Demetrios of Vresthena, the donors who have made this event possible and the faculty of Hellenic College and Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology who have facilitated this bequest and, in particular, the organizer of this conference Fr. George Papademetriou. For a bibliography of the works of Florovsky, see Andrew Blaine, ed., *Georges Florovsky: Russian Intellectual and Orthodox Churchman* (Crestwood: St. Vladimir’s Seminary, NY., 1993).

² On Fr. Florovsky’s use of the term “neo-patristic synthesis” see his article, “Patristics and Modern Theology,” *Procès-verbaux du premier Congrès de Théologie Orthodoxe à Athènes. 29 Novembre - 6 Décembre 1936*, ed. by Hamilcar S. Alivisatos (Athens: Pyrsos, 1936) 238-242. This paper was presented to the first congress of Orthodox theologians, held in Athens in 1936. The term has been given prominence by George H. Williams and was accepted by Florovsky as an apt description of his work and vision. See Williams’ “The Neo-Patristic Synthesis of Georges Florovsky,” in Andrew Blaine, ed., *Georges Florovsky*, 289-340; adapted from his longer essay, “Georges Vasilievich Florovsky: His American Career (1948-1965),” printed in *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 9:1 (1965) 7-107.

respect to churches as communities of faith and, second, with respect to three sets of issues facing the churches today.

Fr. Florovsky helped to revive Patristic studies beginning with his appointment at St. Sergius Institute in Paris in 1926. As a part of the Russian religious renaissance in Paris, Fr. Florovsky developed a tack that was different from the Idealism of his colleague, Sergius Bulgakov, in calling for the recovery of the tradition of the Church which he found in "sacred Hellenism," often articulated best by the Cappadocian theologians of the fourth century. This was not to be construed as the "narrow shell" of a local tradition but was ecumenical in scope because of the formative role such Greek thinking played in giving initial shape to Christian theology.³ Theological debate and cultural criticism today demand that we ask whether, in fact, "sacred Hellenism" actually does touch base with Christian fundamentals.⁴ Still, what can be said is that the recovery of a neo-patristic vision is central to the renewal of theological reflection in our times and that such thinking has proven to be an important dimension in past efforts at Christian renewal in the experience of the churches of the West.⁵

Theological renewal was seen by Fr. Florovsky to be closely related to ecumenical advance. Contributing to the Third World Conference of Faith and Order at Lund (Sweden) in 1952, which coincided with an encyclical of the Ecumenical Patriarch approving of the participation of the Orthodox Churches in the World Council of Churches, Florovsky welcomed Lund's insistence on seeking the visible unity of the Church while warning of its difficulties of achievement. Only by submitting to the test of Tradition, defined through the lens of the neo-patristic synthesis, could the way ahead be found toward renewal in the churches and in political community.⁶ Florovsky believed that Orthodoxy had a perspective that was needed by the churches if they were to move beyond a mere "ecumenism

³ Andrew Blane, ed., *Georges Florovsky*; see Blane's article, "A Sketch of the Life of Georges Florovsky," 49, 51, 63, 71, 92.

⁴ Williams, "Neo-Patristic Synthesis," in Blane, *Georges Florovsky*, 290, 296. See Walter Sundberg, "Ecumenism and the Conflict over Modernity," (unpublished ms., 1988).

⁵ Reference might be made, e.g., to the effect of Ps.-Dionysios the Areopagite upon the Medieval Latin Church, Luther's use of the Greek New Testament, Calvin's use of John of Damascus, or Wesley's appeal to Gregory the Theologian. See, e.g., George Mastrantonis, *Augsburg and Constantinople* (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1982); and Ernest Skubics, *How Eastern Orthodoxy Can Contribute to Roman Catholic Renewal* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1989).

⁶ Meredith Handspicker, "Faith and Order 1948-1968," in Harold E. Fey, ed., *The Ecumenical Advance: A History of the Ecumenical Movement 1948-1968*, 2nd ed., vol. 2 (Geneva: WCC, 1986) 147. Fr. Florovsky's concern that the WCC be firmly anchored in Christian conviction is seen in the proceedings of the Central Committee, in H. Krüger, "The Life and Activities of the World Council of Churches," *ibid.* 33-34.

in space" to that of an "ecumenism in time" of enduring significance.⁷

In a study done for the Institute for Ecumenical Research, in Strasbourg (France), the editor, André Birmelé, writes about how the social challenges we face today are stimulating a common search for renewal among Christians. The way ahead, he believes, is through Christian ecumenism. The success of that ecumenism lies in its adoption and promotion by local lay persons, pastors, and priests.⁸ When we think of ecumenism today, of the many advances and the challenges that are being confronted, not the least of which is financial, it is good to remember that ecumenism began as a local affair and that good ecumenism is always at least local ecumenism, that which takes place in specific places in time and space. Florovsky understood this. The fluidity of his person through enormous changes did not eventuate in a frame of mind that resorted to a dissociated restorationist perspective of Orthodoxy, but instead one that was dynamic and forward looking. He sought to relate to the local settings and circumstances in which he found himself, whether in Odessa, Sophia, Prague, Paris, Britain and abroad, New York, Cambridge, Brookline, or Princeton. He represented in his person an enlarging vision of Orthodoxy fitting itself to local needs and languages yet not unaware of the temptations of excessive adjustment.⁹

THE MEANS OF LOCAL ECUMENISM

Promotion of local ecumenism has always occurred in two phases or by way of two structural means, which we might call Sodalities and Modalities.¹⁰ These terms are useful for an adequate appreciation of Fr. Florovsky's understanding of the Church. Sodalities are the orders, brother- and sisterhoods, and patterns of volunteeristic Christian association that have appeared through history. Modalities are the characteristic forms of the Church by which the institution serves the spiritual needs of a settled folk in a regularized fashion. These terms describe aspects of our present social experience with the divisions of Christian faith that are often confused when we remain restricted to the older terminology of Church, Sect, and

⁷ Georges Florovsky, "The Challenge of Disunity," *St. Vladimir's Seminary Quarterly* 3:1-2 (Fall 1954 - Winter 1955) 31-36. An address delivered to the Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches in Evanston, August, 1955.

⁸ André Birmelé, ed., *Local Ecumenism* (Geneva: WCC, 1984) 1-21.

⁹ Georges Florovsky, "The Responsibility of the Orthodox Believers in America," *The Russian Orthodox Journal* 2:6 (October) 15-18. An address given at the National Convention of the Russian Orthodox Federated Clubs, held in Philadelphia.

¹⁰ I am taking these terms from the Protestant and Presbyterian missiologist, Ralph Winter, "The Two Structures of God's Redemptive Mission," in *Perspectives on the World Christian Movement: A Reader*, ed. by Ralph Winter, Steven Hawthorne (William Carey Library, 1981) 178-190.

Mysticism as developed and applied by Ernst Troeltsch to the European experience of religious association.¹¹ By using the terms Sodality and Modality we can avoid the sometimes pejorative theological associations applied to Sects or Mysticism. We can also avoid the sociological confusion that assumes that a Sect ministers more restrictively than does a Church in a local community. Today, many groups that are viewed as Sects often minister more widely than do Churches in local communities. For example, a Sect may be more conservative in its acceptance of the prevailing secular order, have a higher view of the Natural Law, and minister more widely in society than do many Churches today. While not departing from the value of Troeltsch's insight, by using the terms Sodality and Modality we can adopt language that more properly fits the social reality fostered by the prevailing civil order.¹² Additionally, when we come to Florovsky's work the term "Church" can now be more properly restricted to its theological associations.¹³

The Sodalities of Faith

Ecumenism as we know it, at least today and in particular in the West, grew out of specific and local needs in *mission*, mission often carried out in the fashion outlined by Sodalities. This is, at least, the origins of the Protestant impulse as it has contributed to the formation of the modern ecumenical movement. As such the International Missionary Conference held in Edinburgh (1910), precursor to the International Missionary Council (1921), sought a union of Protestant missionary Sodalities, or councils, and similar structures in Africa, Asia, and Latin America in federation with Protestant councils, or Sodalities, and missionary agencies in Europe and North America.¹⁴

¹¹ Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, 2 vols., trans. by Olive Wyon (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1931/1992 ed.), vol. I 23-37, 328-382. I am guided by the social dynamics as related to institutions and values developed by Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1958 ed.) 185-248.

¹² Robert Bellah has emphasized ways in which we are living with a post-Westphalian social reality, see forthcoming, Bellah, *et al.*, *Christianity and Civil Society: Theological Education and Public Life* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1995), a book coming out of the 25th anniversary of the Boston Theological Institute (December, 1993).

¹³ This is not only true with respect to Florovsky and Christian theology. By adopting this terminology we can also talk about other religious groups and how they relate to the social order without confusing the word "Church," a word with Christian associations, with their self-understanding.

¹⁴ Ruth Rouse, "Voluntary Movements and the Changing Ecumenical Climate," and Kenneth Scott Latourette, "Ecumenical Bearings of the Missionary Movement and the International Missionary Council," in Ruth Rouse and Stephen Charles Neill, vol. 1, *A History of the Ecumenical Movement, 1517-1948*, 3rd ed. (Geneva: WCC, 1986) 309-349, 353-402. Eventually the IMC would be brought into the WCC (1961) to become the Commission on World Mission

The history of such Sodalities, or agencies, is found, in the main, in the flowering of continental pietist groups, like the Moravians, and in Anglo-American movements of renewal, revival, and awakening. Florovsky was certainly a critic of the individualism and pneumaticism of such groups.¹⁵ However, he was also attracted to their ascetic spirit and impulse. Furthermore, it is important to note for our purposes that such revivals and awakenings generally set the pattern for the first unitive events or organizations that were to be experienced or developed in the West, at least after the great rupture of the Latin Church in the sixteenth century. The nineteenth century became a century not only of Rationalism, Romanticism, and Individualism, all excoriated by Florovsky for their often "Alexandrian dream of an esoteric circle of chosen ones," but also of Christian association and renewed asceticism, at first through Sodalities, which also promoted Christian unity.¹⁶

The work of local Sodalities, or missionary and other Christian agencies, in the nineteenth century not only contributed directly to the growth of the modern ecumenical movement, but also challenged that ecumenism. We can observe this in our local setting in the dissatisfaction of marginalized groupings with older churches. Missionary activity set in motion a movement that both proclaimed the gospel of Jesus Christ and, by virtue of the literacy and historical reflection that it encouraged, engendered a resentment that resulted in the recovery of the cultural heritage of ancient religions in many regions of the world. Today the missionary movement and global ecumenism face not only the challenge of understanding and articulating the gospel in our times of enlivened world religious traditions and deepening social resentment, but also of doing so in the midst of local settings that are going through significant social change.

"Over there" is now "over here." Scholars like Diana Eck are reminding us that religious plurality is increasingly a fact in local neighborhoods.¹⁷

and Evangelism (CWME), after reorganization in 1991, Unit II of the WCC.

¹⁵ Georges Florovsky, "Faith and Culture," *St. Vladimir's Quarterly* 4:1-2; 29-44 and in *Christianity and Culture*, Collected Works II 9-30. See also, "The Church: Her Nature and Task," *ibid.* I 57-72.

¹⁶ Georges Florovsky, "The St. Petersburg Revolution," in *Ways of Russian Theology*, Part I, Collected Works V. The historian Timothy Smith sees in the revivalism of the period the origins for associative work in mission and social reform, a pattern that would open up into the ecumenical movement of the twentieth century. See Smith's, *Revivalism and Social Reform. American Protestantism on the Eve of the Civil War* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1956) 80-94, 163-177.

¹⁷ Diane L. Eck, *Encountering God. A Spiritual Journey from Bozeman to Banaras* (Boston: Beacon, 1993); and its review by Huston Smith, "Interfaith Dialogue: Who's Doing it and Why," *Christian Century* (March 9, 1994) 252-253. See the results of Eck's, "The Pluralism Project," Harvard University, 1990-1993.

Preachers and scholars like Anthony Campbell, David Shannon, Eldin Villafane, and Preston Williams are alerting us to the social dimensions of the challenge of changing demographics in a city that is experiencing not only its greatest degree of religious change since the days of the Great Awakenings, but also significant economic dislocation and continuing racial discrimination.¹⁸ Debate over the nature of the fabric of American life and the degree to which it can tolerate the full spectrum of religious and social diversity is a debate that reminds us that local ecumenism is not finished when we get up from this table. These religious and social problems will not be solved without the active engagement of churches working together in local ecumenism. They are problems of attitudes and values. Seminaries and Divinity Schools, like Harvard Divinity School under its current Dean, Ronald Thiemann, that promote theological enterprise with values and issues of public policy are schools that continue this involvement in local ecumenism. This is the "living encounter" with human beings that was advocated by Fr. Florovsky, once a professor at Harvard, of theology and the churches.¹⁹ Political activity that ignores religious association by circumventing the legitimate function of churches and other communities of faith is faulted and misguided.²⁰

Local ecumenism as Sodality, or agency, is flourishing. This does not necessarily mean that it is engaged with the problems cited above. We are a religious people just as much at the end of the twentieth century as we were at its beginning. There are many groups today that stand in line with the brotherhoods and sisterhoods, communities and organized fellowships that are in continuity with the great monastic and tertiary orders of the Greek and Latin Churches. For example, in the Roman Catholic Church today the Focolare movement numbers several million and only finds its origins following WWII. Among the Lutherans there is the Order of the Sisters of Darmstadt. Locally, student groups that formed so much a part of the early ecumenical movement continue strong as Sodalities. For example, at Harvard University the Roman Catholic student groups are experiencing evening masses that draw in hundreds of students. Many of

¹⁸ "Three Murderous Acts in God's Name. Religion is the tie that binds killings in NYC, Texas, and Florida," *The Boston Sunday Globe*, March 21, 1993, 69-72.

¹⁹ Georges Florovsky, "The Predicament of the Christian Historian," in *Religion and Culture: Essays in Honor of Paul Tillich*, ed., W. Leibrecht, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959) 140-166, Reprinted in *Christianity and Culture*, Collected Works II 42-43. See his citation of H. I. Marrou.

²⁰ Stephen L. Carter argues that American society has created political and legal structures that force religiously devout people to act as if their faith and values do not matter. See his book, *The Culture of Disbelief. How American Law and Politics Trivialize Religious Devotion* (New York: Basic Books, 1993).

these are also members of the Protestant and evangelical InterVarsity Christian Fellowship, Campus Crusade for Christ, or Christian Impact. Each of those organizations count as members from the University numbers that reach into the hundreds. Nationally, over 30,000 college age young men and women have been gathering over the past quarter century at InterVarsity's Urbana, Illinois, Missions Conference every four years to hear about and perhaps join the world-wide missions movement. There is no "ecumenical winter" among the Sodalities of Christian faith.²¹

New communities of Christian faith are starting faster than older churches are closing and many of the converts or re-committed adherents to Christian faith in these communities can be seen under the analysis of Florovsky's study of Christian spirituality in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.²² They are seeking to redress through their own pattern of religious, or Christian, association failures that are perceived in established religious life in the United States. This behavior is not new. For example, amidst the controversies over theological modernism and moral defection at the end of the nineteenth century, Baptist minister and missions leader, graduate of Brown University and Newton Theological School, A[doniram] J[udson] Gordon, pastor of Boston's Clarendon Street Church, became a leading figure in promoting new Sodalities of Christian association. Influenced, as were many by the ministry of Dwight L. Moody, A. J. Gordon became an urban activist and visionary fund-raiser for missions. Apart from the diverse social services for which he is remembered, Gordon is noteworthy for his founding in Park Street Church (on Boston's Brimstone Corner) and the Boston Missionary Training School (1889), forerunner of Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary.²³ Sodalities of Christian faith are also the frequent forerunners of new expressions of religious association and institutional life.

One of the problems with Sodalities is that they can lose a vision of the larger church, the importance of its visibility, ecclesial understanding, and traditions. In this Fr. Florovsky feared the introduction of "new"

²¹ S. Mark Heim, "Montreal to Compostela: Pilgrimage in Ecumenical Winter," *Christian Century* 109:11 (April 1, 1992) 333-335.

²² On contemporary movements in Boston, see the report, *Christianity in Boston. A Series of Monographs & Case Studies On the Vitality of the Church in Boston*, ed. by Douglas Hall, Rudy Mitchell, and Jeffrey Bass (Boston: Emmanuel Gospel Center, 1993). On Florovsky's analysis, see above.

²³ Garth Rosell, *The Vision Continues: Essays Marking the Centennial of Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary* (So. Hamilton, MA: GCTS, 1992). See the introduction by Robert E. Cooley. In 1969, Philadelphia's Conwell School of Theology merged with Gordon Divinity School.

Nestorianisms or Monophysitisms.²⁴ He believed that the “reconstruction of belief,” often the interest of sodalities, should lead back to the unity of the one visible church and its faith about which he had written in preparation for Lund (1952). However, not only might Sodalities such as renewal groups lose this vision of the whole, but also – it was Fr. Florovsky’s fear – a comparable myopia might occur in similar organizations, like the World Council of Churches, were priorities to shift from concerns in Faith and Order to an attempt to resolve the world’s material and social problems under Life and Work. Admitting that ecclesial issues might be “insoluble,” he still held to the value found in bringing Christians together, something he understood to be the Edinburgh mandate of 1937 for the Commission on Faith and Order.²⁵

The Modalities of Faith

Ecumenism as we know it not only grew out of the interests of Sodalities in mission, but also out of the interests of local churches as Modalities or structures related to the characteristic forms of ecclesial reflection by which the institution serves the spiritual needs of a settled people in a regularized local fashion. This is our inherited idea of the social structure of the church, not precisely similar to Florovsky’s theological idea of the Church as characterized by a “double ‘ecumenicity’ of Christian faith – in space and in time.”²⁶ By using the term Modality we can avoid prejudging the theological nature of the institution to which we are referring when we speak of the Church.

Birmelé reminds us of the local needs that call forth cooperative Christian thought and work through Modalities of faith. We might add that historically the churches in the North Atlantic community, faced with the onset of new social realities in the nineteenth century, were some of the first to realize practically the need for such cooperation. Writing about the state of local ecumenism in the United States, Kathleen Hurty, Director of the Ecumenical Networks Working Group of the U. S. National Council of Churches, notes the origins of ecumenical work in North America in dealing with this new world order. The Christian League of Methuen,

²⁴ Georges Florovsky, “The Lost Scriptural Mind” (originally, “As the Truth is in Jesus”), *Christian Century* (December 12, 1951); and in *Bible, Church, Tradition: An Eastern Orthodox View*, Collected Works I 9-16.

²⁵ Handspicker, “Faith and Order 1948-1968,” in *Ecumenical Advance* 170; note comment on this in Blane, “A Sketch,” in *Georges Florovsky*, 135-136.

²⁶ Georges Florovsky, “The Function of Tradition in the Ancient Church,” *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 9:2 (1963) and Collected Works I 73. See his, “The Fathers of the Church and the Old Testament,” in *Aspects of Church History*, Collected Works IV.

Massachusetts, constituted in 1888, was the first local federation of churches in the U. S. Another local ecumenical body, the East Side Federation of Churches in New York, formed in 1894, gave impetus to the founding of a city-wide Federation of Churches and Christian Workers the next year. "By the turn of the century," she writes, "local federations were found in many cities."²⁷ Such local and state federations became instrumental in stimulating the formation of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America (1908), precursor to the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U. S. A. (1950).²⁸

Confronted with a new urban culture, institutional churches, as Modalities of faith, found that they had much in common as they struggled to come to terms with what Newman Smyth (1843-1925) of Andover, then New Haven's Center Church, called the new "dynamisms" of life. Both seminaries and churches became the battle ground on which tendencies toward denominational unity and division were fought over new social circumstances and intellectual horizons. Andover Seminary (1808) became embroiled in the controversy,²⁹ only to merge with Harvard Divinity School (1908). Andover was "re-founded" in 1931 with the Newton Theological Institute, the oldest Baptist seminary in the U.S. (1825),³⁰ Baptist ministers having trained at the early Andover.³¹ None of the seminaries in Boston, including the Episcopal Theological School (1831/36)³² and Boston University's School of Theology (1839), were to be spared the rancor of the period.³³ Apart from its own theological vanguard, Harvard graduate

²⁷ Kathleen Hurty, "Breaking the Crust," *One World* (November, 1992) 9-11.

²⁸ Ibid. Hurty cites, from the Federal Council's organizing documents, the following with reference to the social crises of the time: They were seeking "a bond of union...for the interchange of thought and suggestion on matters of common interest."

²⁹ Newman Smyth was elected as Edwards Amasa Park's successor at Andover, but declined the offer because of opposition from Andover's board of visitors. On the larger contours of the controversy, see David E. Swift, "The Future Probation Controversy in American Congregationalism, 1886-1893" (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1947) 1-8; and Daniel Day Williams, *The Andover Liberals: A Study in American Theology* (New York: King's Crown, 1941).

³⁰ Everett Carleton Herrick, *Turns Again Home: Andover Newton Theological School and Reminiscences from an Unkept Journal* (Boston: Pilgrim, 1949) 28.

³¹ George H. Williams, ed., *The Harvard Divinity School: Its Place in Harvard University and in American Culture* (Boston: Beacon, 1954); and William R. Hutchison, *The Modernist Impulse in American Protestantism* (Durham: Duke University, 1992).

³² George L. Blackman, *Faith and Freedom: A Study of Theological Education and the E T S* (New York: Seabury 1967), 159-165; James Arthur Muller, *The Episcopal Theological School, 1867-1943* (Cambridge, MA: ETS, 1943). In 1974 ETS merged with Philadelphia Divinity School to become Episcopal Divinity School.

³³ Debate at Boston University came around the Personalism of Borden Parker Bowne, charged with heresy but acquitted by the Methodist Church (1904); see in F. E. Mayer, *The*

George Angier Gordon, reigned from Boston's Old South Church from 1884 as one of the most visible and outspoken leaders of the "New Theology" while his counterpart, A. J. Gordon, served the cause of Christian Sodalities, as well as the Modality of Clarendon Street Church, through his work across the Boston Common with the Boston Missionary Training School. In the older terminology, which location is a church and what is a sect? By reserving the term Church for the realm of theology, as understood by Florovsky, we can talk about established and emerging communities of faith as Sodalities and Modalities.

While Modalities of faith were pioneering a new Social Gospel, which might undergird the unitive and socially-conscious efforts of the churches, other expressions of Christian corporate life were emerging more visibly in the country. In 1863 Boston College was formed, one of the oldest Jesuit-funded universities in the United States, later to be enhanced through its relationship with Weston School of Theology.³⁴ In 1883 Saint John's Seminary was founded as the Boston Ecclesiastical Seminary. Eventually Hellenic College and Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology, a home and teaching post for Florovsky, would move to the Greater Boston area so as to create in Boston a full-orbed representation of Christian established Modalities of faith through their seminaries or schools of theology.³⁵ Such theological and institutional expression would help to mark local ecumenism in Boston as it moved along a path of recognizably Protestant individualism to a new appreciation of the corporate and catholic nature of Christian faith and church life.

This experience of social change and theological dispute was not unique to Boston, and the impact that such change was having upon church life would soon encompass the entire world. It is from this perspective, the similarity of the social and theological crises faced by churches in local settings, that we can understand the growing importance of the Faith and Order Movement from 1910 to its formation in 1927, and the Life and Work Movement through the stimuli of events and the thought of Nathan Söderblom in the 1920s to its formation in 1925. Both movements, and the crises they represented, joined together to form the WCC in 1948 even as Christian Sodalities of faith were coming together to form the International

Religious Bodies of America, rev. ed. by A. C. Piepkorn (St. Louis: Concordia, 1961), 296-304; and Kathleen Kilgore, *Transformations: A History of Boston University* (Boston: University, 1991) 49-52.

³⁴ Such Jesuit influence would increase with the founding of Weston College in 1922 which, since 1932, was empowered by papal charter to grant ecclesiastical degrees.

³⁵ Hellenic College was founded as Holy Cross Theological School in Pomfret, Connecticut, in 1937. Holy Cross is the only accredited Greek Orthodox graduate School of Theology in the Western Hemisphere. On Florovsky, see Blaine, "A Sketch," in *Georges Florovsky* 112-113.

Missionary Council (1921) which itself would also join the World Council of Churches in 1961.

The formation of ecumenical structures over the past century has begun to meet many of the needs of both Sodalities as well as Modalities of faith. While allowing for social and cultural diversity, the Christian movement has predicated the common message of the gospel for all and the ideal of the oneness of the Church. These assumptions were Fr. Florovsky's point of entry into the ecumenical movement. However, the ecumenical movement has also raised a number of problems for the churches. Apart from the question of the ecclesial status of such agencies themselves,³⁶ at least two additional issues might be identified here. First, toward what end should spiritual formation and ministry tend? "What is the nature of the unity we seek?" Second, what disciplines does such education and formation encompass? Both issues have been subject to much debate and will only be raised here in relation to the question of local ecumenism.

Spiritual formation and ministry must tend toward at least three ends, each of which would have been affirmed by Fr. Florovsky. First, ecumenical formation is the formation of disciples of Jesus Christ.³⁷ Diane Kessler, Director of the Massachusetts Council of Churches, notes the importance of keeping this end in view.³⁸ In the context of suggestions about how that might be done, she argues that Christian ecumenical bodies are not interfaith bodies. This is not to say that interfaith councils or interfaith formation is not important, indeed, quite the opposite.³⁹ However, a distinction must be made between the two in order for the churches to maintain their sense of identity and purpose.⁴⁰ In this Fr. Florovsky was clear.⁴¹ The idea of

³⁶ See articles in *The Ecumenical Review* 42:1 (January 1991), "The Ecumenical Future and the WCC. A Dialogue of Dreams and Visions"; also, Thomas F. Best, ed., *Instruments of Unity* (Geneva, WCC, 1988); and Konrad Raiser, *Ecumenism in Transition: A Paradigm Shift in the Ecumenical Movement?* (Geneva: WCC, 1991).

³⁷ Among the many items in print, see Kenneth Leech, *Soul Friend: An Invitation to Spiritual Direction* (San Francisco, Harper, 1992); E. Glenn Hinson, ed., *Spirituality in Ecumenical Perspective* (Louisville: Westminster/JKP, 1993); William R. Nelson, *Ministry Formation* (Nashville: Abindgon, 1988).

³⁸ Diane Kessler, "The Future of Local Councils of Churches. Some Practical Observations," *The Ecumenical Review* (June, 1991) 50-56.

³⁹ Samuel Amirthan and S. Wesley Ariarajah, *Ministerial Formation in a Multifaith Milieu* (Geneva: WCC, 1986); and Richard Hughes Seager, ed., *The Dawn of Religious Pluralism* (LaSalle, IL: Open Court, 1993); see *Multifaith Resources*, director, Charles White (Wofford Heights, CA).

⁴⁰ Toward this end the Massachusetts Council of Churches has been clear. The Graymoor Ecumenical and Interreligious Institute has, as well, maintained the distinction between (Christian) ecumenism and interfaith (or wider ecumenism) work by clearly distinguishing them in its name.

⁴¹ Several places might be cited in Florovsky's writings, see "St. Gregory Palamas and the

scripture and tradition which he sought to uphold as determinative of the Church was one of formative cultural intersection and critique, the trajectories of which were laid down by the fifth century.⁴² As society's understanding of what constitutes "scripture" widens, the implications of maintaining the distinction between Christian ecumenical and interfaith formation, as well as for there to be points of intersection, will become increasingly socially significant.⁴³ Whether and in what ways the cultural intersection and critique of the ancient world and its patterns of thought as experienced by early Christian apologists and formative thinkers such as the Cappadocian theologians will be any different today is a matter of attention in the schools as they play their role in local ecumenism.

Second, these disciples work toward the visible unity of the churches. "Envoys for Ecumenism," a program of The Massachusetts Council of Churches, has pioneered such formation in the spirit of Fr. Florovsky, viewing itself not as a church but as an instrument toward the unity of the one visible church.⁴⁴ The Massachusetts Commission on Christian Unity, under the energetic leadership of Gordon White, has worked similarly. The relationships fostered by the Boston Theological Institute (BTI) have tended to promote these ends against the more diverse academic agendas of the seminaries, schools, and universities which constitute it. The BTI is the only theological consortium in the world to include the Orthodox, Roman Catholics, Protestants (from conserving to post-modern perspectives), and Anglicans. Indeed, the very existence of this consortial arrangement against the history of the schools, as noted above, is of significant value for the formation of Church leadership in the next generation.⁴⁵

Florovsky's challenge was toward the realization of the one visible Church.⁴⁶ His own thinking was stimulated and shaped by that of Vladimir

Tradition of the Fathers," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 2 1 (1959-1960) 105-120

⁴² Georges Florovsky, *The Eastern Fathers of the Fourth Century*, Collected Works VII 107, 119, 147 See on this point, Jaroslav Pelikan, *Christianity and Classical Culture The Metamorphosis of Natural Theology in the Christian Encounter with Hellenism* (New Haven Yale, 1993) 3-21

⁴³ Wilfred Cantwell Smith writes of our widening understanding of scripture and the social implications of this in *What Is Scripture? A Comparative Approach* (Minneapolis Fortress, 1993)

⁴⁴ Massachusetts Council of Churches, *Odyssey Toward Unity Foundations and Functions of Ecumenism and Conciliarism*, 3rd ed. (Boston MCC, 1993)

⁴⁵ Theological renewal is seen as basic to church development in the "mainline" Protestant churches, see Richard John Neuhaus, ed., *The Believable Futures of American Protestantism* (Grand Rapids, MI Eerdmans, 1988)

⁴⁶ Georges Florovsky, "The Orthodox Churches and the Ecumenical Movement Prior to 1910," *A History of the Ecumenical Movement*, I 171-215, see, "The Catholicity of the Church" (appeared first as "Sobornost The Catholicity of the Church," in *The Church of God*, ed., by E

Soloviev,⁴⁷ although whether he ever believed that it might become a reality on this side of the Eschaton is open to doubt. In fact, this tension in ecclesial unity and diversity was laid out by the Swiss-American Philip Schaff for the Anglo-American world in his monumental *Creeds of Christendom* at the end of the nineteenth century.⁴⁸ While Florovsky might not have agreed with Schaff's "garden-variety" analogy to ecclesial diversity, he would have most certainly agreed that there were genetic affinities in the different churches that needed to be cultivated.⁴⁹ Certainly an attitude to be uprooted for him was the kind of mentality that fostered what has been called by Jean Miller Schmidt, the "two party system in American Protestantism."⁵⁰ With respect to local ecumenism we must find ways to draw into discussion those groups that stand apart from local ecumenical efforts.⁵¹ It must be clearly recognized that in the City of Boston today, as is true for much of the United States, there are more Christians outside of ecumenical structures than are within or represented by them. There are independent, cultured, and urbane churches in the Boston area, as well as those that cannot be characterized in this way, that draw upwards of 2000 to services on Sundays, yet many of these churches are not part of the local ecumenical dialogue that includes churches of much smaller numbers.⁵²

Mascall, (London: SPCK, 1934) I 37-55.

⁴⁷ Ibid. 215. Although mainly concerned with the reconciliation of the East and Rome, Soloviev (1853-1900) "did not believe that the Churches were separated. There was an historical estrangement.... His ultimate ecumenical vision...included the whole of Christendom... — the spiritual insight of the Orthodox East, the authority of Rome, and the intellectual honesty of Protestantism. But this unity transcends history." Florovsky concludes his chapter on Orthodoxy and the Ecumenical movement by writing thus and citing Soloviev's *La Russie et l'Église universelle* (Paris, 1889).

⁴⁸ Philip Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom*, 3 vols. (Harper & Brothers, 1877), I 11 (6th ed.).

⁴⁹ Philip Schaff's appreciation of ecclesial diversity was summarized in his ecumenical plea, "Reunion of Christendom" (1893): "There is beauty in variety. There is no harmony without many sounds, and a garden encloses all kinds of flowers." I owe this reference to Mark S. Burrows, "A Unity Reflecting God: a Dionysian approach to Intrinsic Ecumenism and the Separated Churches," *Mid-Stream* 31:3 (July, 1992) 216; citing Schaff, in *Philip Schaff: Historian and Ambassador of the Universal Church. Selected Writings*, ed. and intro. by Klaus Penzel (Macon, GA: Mercer University 1991) 302-40.

⁵⁰ Jean Miller Schmidt, *Souls or the Social Order: The Two Party System in American Protestantism* (New York: Carlson, 1992).

⁵¹ David J. Bosch, "'Ecumenicals' and 'Evangelicals': A Growing Relationship?" *The Ecumenical Review* 40:3-4 (1988) 458-472.

⁵² On demographics in Boston, see Douglas Hall, Rudy Mitchell, and Jeffrey Bass, eds., *Christianity in Boston*; for commentary, Robert Wuthnow, *The Restructuring of American Religion* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. 1988); and *idem*, *The Struggle for America's Soul. Evangelicals, Liberals, & Secularism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1989).

This is not the place to deal with the causes for such polarization among Christians. It is something excoriated by Fr. Florovsky in relation to earlier tensions among the churches surrounding the iconoclastic controversies in the Byzantine period.⁵³ Such tension may be more profound but less politically direct in our post-Constantinian age as the churches enter an historical period characterized, according to José Míguez Bonino, no longer by a constitutional or pragmatic relationship to social structures, but by one that is more parabolic in nature.⁵⁴

Third, the end of spiritual formation and ministry must be grounded in that formative cultural intersection and Christian critique characterized by Florovsky's work.⁵⁵ Much has been written over the past ten years on the nature of theological education. This is not the place to enter into that discussion.⁵⁶ Insofar as the assumptions of that tradition have helped to set the development of the churches, both in their institutional as well as their theological self-understanding, a knowledge of that neo-patristic synthesis is foundational to Christian cosmic teleology, meaning in history, and the definition of personhood. However, the state of theology today in its post-enlightenment and culturally sensitive forms, requires us to ask of

⁵³ Georges Florovsky, "Origen, Eusebius and the Iconoclastic Controversy," *Church History* 19 (1950) 77-96.

⁵⁴ José Míguez Bonino, *Doing Theology in a Revolutionary Situation* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975).

⁵⁵ Georges Florovsky, "Patristic Theology and the Ethos of the Orthodox Church," appearing first as, "The Ethos of the Orthodox Church" in *The Ecumenical Review* 12:2 (1960), and subsequently in *Collected Works* IV 11-38; and Pelikan, *Christianity and Classical Culture* 3-21.

⁵⁶ It is a truism to suggest that ecclesial identity is closely tied to theological education, especially important when we consider the formation of Sodalities and Modalities of faith, see, e.g., *Christian Identity and Theological Education*, by Joseph C. Hough, Jr. and John B. Cobb (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1985), and *Theologia: The Fragmentation and Unity of Theological Education*, by Edward Farley (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983). For Orthodoxy, consider Metropolitan Damaskinos of Switzerland, "La Mission actuelle de l'Orthodoxie," *Episkepsis* 23:480 (30 June 1992) 7-18; on Protestantism: John C. Fletcher, *The Futures of Protestant Seminaries* (Washington, D.C.: The Alban Institute, 1983); and for Catholicism: Katarina Schuth, O.S.F., *Reason for the Hope. The Futures of Roman Catholic Theologates* (Wilmington, Del.: Michael Glazier, 1989); Ernest L. Boyer joins "scholar and journeyman in a common quest" in *Scholarship Reconsidered. Priorities of the Professoriate* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1990). Implications of ideas offered here are developed pointedly for the university divinity school by Stephen Toulmin, "Theology in the Context of the University," and by Ronald F. Thiemann, "The Future of an Illusion: An Inquiry into the Contrast Between Theological and Religious Studies," in *Theological Education*, 26.2 (Spring 1990) 51-65, 66-85 respectively. See the forthcoming volume on theological education growing out of the symposia celebrating the 25th anniversary of the Boston Theological Institute, *Christianity and Civil Society: Theological Education and Public Life*.

this tradition questions even more fundamental than those posed of Hellenism by Harnack in the last century.⁵⁷ This does not imply that Florovsky's perspective was not the more radical critique. For example, as identified by theologian and historian Jaroslav Pelikan, "each of the three (or four) Cappadocians" was highly critical of the classical Greek tradition while standing "squarely" within it. For Pelikan, whose point this is, to even put it like this, and to include Macrina (the Younger), oldest sister of Basil and of Gregory of Nyssa as a role model and teacher of both of her brothers, bishops and theologians, is to begin to move to a more fundamental level of theological and social criticism.⁵⁸

ISSUES FACING THE CHURCHES

What disciplines does this education require apart from the theological curriculum as it might be discerned from the above discussion?⁵⁹ With this question in mind we can move to the second point about formation, as raised above, and to the second division of this paper. There are three areas or sets of questions that require special theological attention today. They are, first, how are we to live with environmental degradation? This is an issue that not only relates to definitions of stewardship, but also to eschatology or cosmic teleology. Second, what is Christian mission and how do we understand ourselves in relation to it? The shape of our churches as social agencies in our communities is at stake with this question. Third, what is the meaning of personhood? This relates not only to life at its extremities, but also to how we relate as sexual beings and as members of families whether they be functional or not.

Fr. Florovsky's neo-patristic synthesis, and the directions in which that thinking tends, offers us tools for working through these challenges today. What, it might be asked, has such discussion to do with local ecumenism? Some argue, as Birmelé notes, that doctrinal questions have little significance for ecumenical work on the local level.⁶⁰ However, he is quick to point out that this is not the case and to illustrate his argument.⁶¹ In fact,

⁵⁷ Williams writes that Florovsky's "'Christian Hellenism'...is quite the opposite of that supposedly 'acute' Hellenization of Christianity, as Adolf von Harnack characterized Gnosticism in "Neo-Patristic Synthesis" 290.

⁵⁸ Pelikan, *Christianity and Classical Culture*, 184-187.

⁵⁹ Augustine outlined in the fourth century what has usually been central to a core theological curriculum since his day, areas that we might identify as theology, histories, tools for biblical linguistic analysis, and means for practical theology. These four areas constitute the divisions discussed in *On Christian Doctrine*, trans., D. W. Robertson, Jr., (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1983).

⁶⁰ André Birmelé, ed., *Local Ecumenism* (Geneva: WCC, 1984) 22.

⁶¹ In fact, see Handspicker, "Faith and Order," 170. He writes, presciently, "There is a threat

current bi-lateral discussions and much of local ecumenism is stuck on the areas marked out by these three sets of issues. Failure to deal with them through a prevailing hermeneutic of freedom, or for other reasons, does not bode well for the current polarity within our churches or among them in the ecumenical movement. There is a climactic wind-shear blowing. Time, energy, and interest are running out on the ecumenical agenda at the very time when the fruit of the past decades of effort could bear the hopeful foundations for something more.⁶²

Environmental Degradation

The first of our three sets of issues deals with how we are to live with environmental degradation? More pointedly, what does it mean to live responsibly as a Christian in today's world? This can be a confusing question. We are faced with those who have taken up the phrase "wise-use" and others who call for "eco-justice." To answer the question means framing it properly. The categories given to us from Fr. Florovsky's neo-patristic synthesis can help us to do this. Taking our ethics from science alone binds us to what is at the moment knowable, something that must at least be conditioned by philosophical and moral reflection.⁶³

In order to frame the question of what our attitude should be toward matters of ecology we might begin with Fr. Florovsky's point that the categories of Greek philosophy were inadequate for the description of the world according to Christian faith. Christians believed in the radical con-

of a 'horizontal schism' threatening all our Churches. The reasons for this are many, but perhaps a key one is seen in differing attitudes toward the world." Carter Lindberg points to the importance of foundational theological assumptions in attitudes toward service in the world, a point with which Fr. Florovsky would agree, in "Luther's Critique of the Ecumenical Assumption that Doctrine Divides but Service Unites," *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 27 4 (Fall 1990) 679-696. What is important is the manner of presentation: see William A. Dyrness, *How Does America Hear the Gospel?* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1989) 54.

⁶² See the presentations of the findings of consolidated dialogues in, "Ecumenical Findings: A Report of the Bilaterals Study Group of the Faith and Order Commission of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA," *The Ecumenical Review* 41 1 (1989) 124-136. The article claims that the ecumenical movement "has now reached the stage of proposing to the churches a new agenda for proceeding to the 'reception' of these results and for proposing common action based upon this new example of ecumenical agreement (124-125)." The findings fall under four categories: conversion, the nature of the unity sought, the faith and order of the church, and considerations for the future. The concept of ecumenical "conversion" is of interest, whereby the participant is to be changed by the Holy Spirit and his/her commitment to Christ deepened. This calls for repentance. It also recognizes that such unity issues in the proclamation of the gospel in mission and requires the need for doctrinal development and understanding.

⁶³ Nels Ferré reminds us of the limits of science for providing moral direction in "The Immorality of Science," *Religion in Life* 10 1 (Winter 1941) 31-40. A chilling episode of such unbalanced reliance was seen during the period of National Socialism in Germany.

tingency of the world, the classical tradition in either its eternity or its passing significance. Fr. Florovsky writes that the Bible opens with the story of creation. "'In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth.' This has become a creedal statement in the Christian Church. The cosmos was no more regarded as a 'self-explanatory' being. Its ultimate and intrinsic dependence upon God's will and action has been vigorously asserted. But more than just this relation of 'dependence' was implied in the Biblical concept: the world was created *ex nihilo*, i.e., it did not exist 'eternally.'"⁶⁴ Following a phrase of Etienne Gilson, Fr. Florovsky argues that Christians understand there to be a double contingency: the world did not have to be created, and the creator did not have to create. Fr. Florovsky continues, "The tension between the two visions, Hellenic and Biblical, was sharp and conspicuous. Greeks and Christians, as it were, were dwelling in different worlds."⁶⁵

Today, whether we are Greek or Christian, the crisis in how we understand and use our common natural order is more pointed than ever. Questions of global development and local usage are seen to interrelate. For example, an index of the global sustainability of human life has been worked out by officials at the World Bank so as to see something of a relationship to exist with levels of affluence, population growth, and technological ability.⁶⁶ Greek monistic thinking, or modern rationalism, only leads us to a closed environment where heteronomous laws, be they religious or political, close around us like Max Weber's "iron cage." We appear to be living, we might say, between an environmental apocalypse and eco-facism.⁶⁷

Not only is there the need to understand our ecological situation and to frame the question properly about what this situation means for us, but also we must all think (and live) more carefully.⁶⁸ What exactly is being said in the scriptural record and tradition? How are the metaphors the same or different than that which we find in other religious or wisdom traditions? What are the "degrees of tolerance" that exist between the poles of

⁶⁴ Georges Florovsky, "St. Athanasius' Concept of Creation," *Studia Patristica* 6 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1962) 36-57 and in *Collected Works* IV 39-62.

⁶⁵ Ibid. 40. Gilson's citation is from *God and Philosophy* (New Haven: Yale, 1941) 88.

⁶⁶ Paul Kennedy, *Preparing for the Twenty-First Century* (New York: Random House, 1993); see Gregory G. Lebel and Hal Kane, *Sustainable Development: A Guide to Our Common Future: The Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development* (Geneva: Oxford, 1987).

⁶⁷ F. Herbert Bormann and Stephen R. Kellert, *Ecology, Economics, Ethics. The Broken Circle* (New Haven: Yale, 1991).

⁶⁸ See the remarks by Theodore Hiebert, "The Human as Servant," (unpublished paper, 1994); Timothy Weiskel, "God, the Environment and the Good Life: Some Notes from Belshazzar's Feast" (Harvard Seminar on Environmental Values, 1993); and James Nash,

absolute transcendence and a materialist world? Questions like these will help us to develop the "Renewal of Reverence" that is required of us today not only for creation, but for creation's God. The environmental issue is a theological issue.⁶⁹ It is also a social issue, not only of global political but also of local legal significance.⁷⁰ For example, one might appropriately ask whether environmental issues are to be dealt with in the courts as civil rights or as property rights?⁷¹ Questions like these bring our theological understanding into matters of direct historical import, social significance, and legal controversy.

Fr. Florovsky was aware of this interrelation between ourselves and the world, society, and our innermost attitudes. In the end the issue of the environment is not only one of ourselves and nature, but also of how we understand history. "Christianity," he wrote, "is essentially a social religion...: *unus Christianus nullus Christianus*. Nobody can be truly Christian as a solitary and isolated being."⁷² How we handle disposable waste says something about how we view ourselves, our neighbor, and our God. This issue, of course, brings us directly to the second area or set of questions for special theological attention today: What is Christian mission and how do we understand ourselves in relation to it? How we answer this question will help to determine who we call as pastoral leadership in a local church and what the activity of that church will look like.

The Churches and Mission

Although the Orthodox, Roman Catholic, and Protestant Churches developed different nuances, important in their own right, to answer the question of the place of the Church and its mission in history,⁷³ the issue

Loving Nature: Ecological Integrity and Christian Responsibility (Nashville: Abingdon, 1991) 93-116.

⁶⁹ Thomas Berry, CP, has been one of the first to underscore the religious dimension of the environmental crisis; see, in addition to Nash (above) *Befriending the Earth: A Theology of Reconciliation Between Humans and the Earth* (Mystic, CT: Twenty-Third Publications, 1991); and Vera Shaw, *Thorns in the Garden Planet* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1993).

⁷⁰ World Council of Churches, "Issues of Justice, Peace and the Integrity of Creation," *The Ecumenical Review* 41:4 (October 1989); D. Preman Niles, ed., *Between the Flood and the Rainbow* (Geneva: WCC, 1992); and David Hallman, ed., *Ecotheology: Insights from North and South* (Geneva: WCC, 1994).

⁷¹ Legal questions are raised in Christopher D. Stone, *Earth and Other Ethics* (New York: Harper and Row, 1987).

⁷² Georges Florovsky, "The Social Problem in the Eastern Orthodox Church," *The Journal of Religious Thought* 8:1 (Autumn/Winter, 1950-51) 41-51, Collected Works II 131-142.

⁷³ Olav Guttorm Myklebust, *The Study of Missions in Theological Education*, 2 vols. (Oslo: Forlaget Land Og Kirke, 1955).

was generally framed by Augustine for the West and by Gregory of Nyssa, among others, for the East. Despite degrees of mystery, as the Church held to a creation in time, so also, Fr. Florovsky wrote, there would be a last judgment in time.⁷⁴ The question of how the Church moved as God's ark of salvation from the former to the latter was answered by recourse to a symbolic grid shaped by the biblical *figurae* of the creation stories, as modified by the 1000-year day of the psalmist, then set into, or along side of, the apocalyptic imagery of the books of Daniel and the Revelation of John and associated reflection. This perspective, as borne by preaching and teaching, fired the imagination of the Christian social movement. The renewals, revivals, and awakenings mentioned in the first part of this paper were often directly related to such historical vision. Mission statements and rationale, such as the Anderson-Venn formula, were like the cooled and encrusted lava of earlier heated volcanic apocalyptic flows.⁷⁵

As this Christian eschatological vision with its place for the Church and mission has matured, competing perspectives on history have emerged, particularly since the late eighteenth century. From Voltaire's history of style through Kant's optimistic conception of progress the foundations were laid for new paradigms of history that flowered, particular in German Romantic speculation, in the nineteenth century. These offered new definitions to human identity and history that stressed individual and national emancipation. Churches that had perceived themselves on the cutting edge of history, now feared that they had been left encrusted and overcome by new volcanic rivulets and thrusts of the Spirit. To cite Karl Marx, the "locomotive" of history had left them behind and derailed. Religion became seen as an epiphenomenon hiding legitimate social, sexual, or power relationships. The Church, and its mission, was now perceived by some in the cultural elite as an instrument of oppression, inhibition, and repression, not of liberation.

Today we are faced with individuals and social groups that really do require liberation in the name of justice. The gospel is about liberation. Of course, there is much that needs to be defined when one juxtaposes terms like justice and liberation in this way. The nature of the relation of these terms comes to us in the shape of real people and people groups who vie for legitimate cultural, economic, or other rights. Samuel Huntington, pro-

⁷⁴ Georges Florovsky, "Last Things and Last Events," in *The Theology of Emil Brunner*, ed. by C. W. Kegley, (New York: Harper & Row 1966) 207-224, Collected Works III 243-265. See Rodney L. Petersen, *Preaching in the Last Days* (New York: Oxford University, 1993) 3-58; see Paul Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1992).

⁷⁵ Johannes Verkuyl, *Contemporary Missiology. An Introduction* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1978) 52-3, 64, 184-188; and Petersen, *Preaching in the Last Days* 227-258.

fessor of Government, has recently alerted us to the implications of this in a world that is no longer bipolar but divided into multiple cultural interests.⁷⁶ Furthermore, as nations break up under a tidal flow of refugees from environmental and social disasters, compounded by disease and scarce resources, the face of human liberation becomes increasingly desperate.⁷⁷

A key question that can be put to any or all of these conditions is the following: Apart from the structural changes in society and natural limits that people face, what is the degree of hope that can be engendered in particular circumstances? This is a question for Christian mission as it works itself out in local ecumenism. Local ecumenism will look differently depending on social contexts, e.g., urban or rural, racially diverse or monolithic, impoverishment or wealth. Local ecumenism relates to how I understand myself and my neighbor in light of the gospel. Embedded in this is, to be sure, the issue of how I share that hope with my neighbor. That hope is precisely my identity in Christ. Sharing this is mission in whatever way this identity is mediated whether in appropriate word or activity. Florovsky points us to a view of mission that does three things required of us in today's world: It affirms my neighbor. It challenges both my neighbor and me. It leaves the future open for further definition which allows for reciprocal integrity.

Permit me to elaborate on these points in relation to Florovsky's work. First, this affirmation of others is seen in the process of mission as it affirms the cultural particularity of others. Florovsky wrote about this in his article, "Russian Missions: An Historical Sketch" (1933).⁷⁸ In delineating how mission affirmed local cultures, Florovsky illustrates how the premises of incarnational thinking offer the tools both to affirm value in particular cultures, and yet not give up the idea of a universal conception of truth.⁷⁹ He writes: "This meant putting into the forefront the use of the

⁷⁶ Samuel Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs* (Summer 1993); see page 48 for his own summary. In his book, *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1991), Huntington notes the importance of religion, particularly Christianity, in the development of democracy. See also Joseph Nye, *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power* (New York: Basic Books, 1990) where different sources of power, including moral power, are described. See Chai-sik Chung, "Transcending the Clash of Civilizations" (Lecture on the occasion of a Celebration of the Ministries of Walter and Martha Muelder, Boston University School of Theology, December 8, 1993).

⁷⁷ Robert D. Kaplan, "The Coming Anarchy," *The Atlantic Monthly* (February 1994) 44-76; see W. Pfaff, *The Wrath of Nations: Civilization and the Fury of Nationalism* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993).

⁷⁸ Georges Florovsky, "Russian Missions: An Historical Sketch," *Collected Works IV* 139-155.

⁷⁹ Such a perspective may be seen in Lamin Sanneh, *Translating the Message* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1992); perspectives on contemporary missiology are found in James M. Phillips

vernacular or local dialects in preaching. In other words, it was evangelization as a way of awakening the new peoples to a Christian life, and at the same time it was an adaptation to a tradition of culture, but without any negation or suppression of national differences and peculiarities.”⁸⁰ Second, it is seen in the challenge that mission offers to both parties involved. In a book that envisions new paths of religious cooperation in the United States, the author, Os Guinness, has called for a “principled pluralism” in American public life. This is neither religious relativism nor an older “Constantinian” dominance. It does come from the perspective of one who, like Florovsky, bears a confidence in the gospel in relation to the ambiguities of culture. It is only in this way, Guinness argues, that vital religion can find its place in our society without recourse to forms of religious life related to cultural decline.⁸¹ In this court of public discourse Florovsky’s neo-patristic synthesis reminds us of the need for foundational discussion into the definition of grounds of appeal, that “name of justice” and its juxtaposition with liberation as cited above, or perspectives of validity in relation to theories of natural theology.

Finally, in writing about “Faith and Culture,” Fr. Florovsky distinguishes several types of Christian “pessimisms” or attitudes which have been taken by individuals or groups to “escape” or “endure” the cultural compromises or discontinuities which are perceived to be in dissonance with the theological or moral rectitudes of Christian faith. These he calls pietisms, puritanisms, existentialisms, and indifferentism. These we must eschew if we are to stay open to God’s future. In Florovsky’s opinion they betray an attitude which does not allow for that reciprocal integrity with our neighbor which those open to mission and dialogue must promote and may experience. It comes of a fear that God is not in control. We might understand something different by these categories of religious experience than Florovsky does. However, to appreciate his point our perspective must be

and Robert T. Coote, eds., *Toward the Twenty-first Century in Christian Mission. Essays in Honor of Gerald H. Anderson* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1993).

⁸⁰ Georges Florovsky, “Russian Missions: An Historical Sketch,” *Collected Works* IV 140. The danger of promoting nationalism at the expense of universalism is noted in Ioannes Karamiris, “Nationalism in the Orthodox Church,” *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 26:3 (1981) 171-184.

⁸¹ O. Guinness and John Seel, eds., *No God but God* (Chicago: Moody, 1993). While sharing a conserving attitude toward Christian faith with groups like the Moral Majority, the authors take issue with the political tactics used by such groups. On Fr. Florovsky’s perspective, see “Antinomies of Christian History: Empire and Desert,” *Collected Works* II 67-100. Note his point about excessive adjustment or detachment. Religion, as it is related to cultural challenge or decline, may often take the shape of new “fundamentalisms” following the thinking of Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory & Social Structure* (New York: Free Press, 1967) 185-248.

that of the entire Church, ecumenical in both space and time.⁸² From that vantage point, every movement, or faction, is only a partial understanding of the catholicity of the Church.⁸³ Each of these movements, from Florovsky's perspective, devalue man and undervalue God. Leaving the future open to God implies a certain "sojourning" attitude. As it was once said of Christians, "every foreign land was fatherland, and every fatherland foreign,"⁸⁴ so it might be said today that "every culture is ours, and every culture foreign." Certain antinomies in time are introduced by this perspective, but it is precisely such ambiguities that keep us receptive to the age that is opening up before us⁸⁵

THE GROUND OF PERSONHOOD

Finally, a third area or set of questions that require special theological attention today relates to the meaning of persons.⁸⁶ Here we are not only talking about life at its extremities, but also how we relate as sexual beings and members of families whether they are functional or not. Again, the theological contribution to this question comes, in part, in helping us to frame the issue or set of questions. In beginning to do this we cannot forget that it was the great trinitarian and christological debates of the third and fourth centuries that helped to define our inherited ideas of individuality and personhood. Theologians such as the Cappadocians in the East and Augustine of Hippo in the West were instrumental here. They were also important in helping to frame the entire discussion of personhood within the context of what was assumed to be common moral truth, part of what the classical world assumed as a common natural law.⁸⁷

⁸² Writing church history from an ecumenical perspective is underscored. See the principles articulated in Charles W. Brockwell, Jr., and Timothy J. Wengert, "Christian History in Ecumenical Perspective: Principles of Historiography," *Fides et Historia* 24:1 (Winter/Spring 1992) 40-53.

⁸³ The point is similar to that made by Frederick Denison Maurice of John Malcom Forbes Ludlow, both founders of Christian Socialism in England in the nineteenth century.

⁸⁴ Florovsky is citing from *The Epistle to Diognetus* (2nd or 3rd century).

⁸⁵ Georges Florovsky, "Faith and Culture," *Collected Works* II 9-30. See also, "The Church: Her Nature and Task," *Collected Works* I 57-72. The reflections offered by French theologian and sociologist Jacques Ellul apply here as he wrestles with the tension in his own life between Marx and Barth and between living in a technological age in relation to Christian faith, *Perspectives on Our Age*, ed. by William H. Vanderburg (New York: Seabury, 1981).

⁸⁶ See the book of this title by Paul Tournier for indications of ways in which the assumptions raised here have been worked out by one psychiatrist, *The Meaning of Persons* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973).

⁸⁷ It is within the parameters of this understanding that Pope John Paul II issued his tenth encyclical, *Veritatis Splendor* (October 1993); discussed in Richard John Neuhaus, "The Splendor of Truth: A Symposium," *First Things* 39 (January 1994) 14-29.

Although there had been some development in ideas of personhood in previous centuries, it was not until the emergence of new social anthropologies, in particular Lamarkianism and Social Darwinianism, together with the new psychological sciences in the nineteenth century that much new thinking was added to that earlier classical substratum inherited by western culture from the fourth and fifth centuries. The real challenge and further contribution to our understanding of personhood came with the advent of Sigmund Freud's theories about the personality and its formation.⁸⁸ His description of the Oedipus complex and formation of the ego, id, and superego against the topography of consciousness has profoundly reshaped the way in which many think about the conscience and personhood today. Of course, Freud's detractors have been many. They have come from disciplines as diverse as anthropology and theology and have included those from within the field of psychoanalysis itself.⁸⁹ Still, Freud continues to be foundational in a conscious way, while earlier classical premises about personhood may yet linger as unconscious "shadows" in many of the current debates over issues as diverse as the morality of cross-dressing and gender identification to those pertaining to the definition of early life and quality of life at its end.

Again, there are at least three areas in which Fr. Florovsky's work, or the neo-patristic synthesis that he advocated as foundational for theological reflection, can help us to wrestle with the difficult issue of personhood today. First, there is the area of individual particularity as against species generality. Second, we might mention Fr. Florovsky's understanding of what it means to be creatures of a Creator. Finally, we must raise the issue of the nature of human will and Fr. Florovsky's clear affirmation of the freedom of the will as he defined it.

First, in a work cited earlier in this paper, "The Patristic Age and Eschatology," Fr. Florovsky writes of the tension between individual personality, or what might be called ontogenetic development, and phylogenetic relationships. He notes how Platonic conceptions of the soul saw in death a release of the soul, but offered no definition of particular personal identity. Contrariwise, in Aristotelianism death was seen to be a natural end of the body, with no on-going existence, hence, raising the question and meaning of present bodily existence. Fr. Florovsksy continues by writing, "For Christians [death] was a catastrophe, a frustration of human existence, a reduction to a sub-human state, abnormal and rooted in the sinful condi-

⁸⁸ Sigmund Freud, *An Outline of Psychoanalysis* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1949).

⁸⁹ One could mention the discrediting of Lamarkianism, psychoanalytic theories of Jung and others, or the theological analysis of Hans Küng. On the latter, see his book, *Freud and the Problem of God* (New Haven: Yale, 1990).

tion of mankind, out of which one is now liberated by the victory of Christ." Following Athenagoras, Fr. Florovsky adds that God gave being and life neither to the soul or body independently of the other, but to an entity composed of body and soul, what might be called species generality and individual particularity.⁹⁰ What is drawn out here with respect to classical philosophy is argued pointedly with respect to Christ and the personhood of man in "The Iconoclastic Controversy" where issues of symbolic value and particular existence were in question and ultimately resolved through balancing each against the other.⁹¹

Second, Fr. Florovsky's understanding of what it means to be a creature of a Creator opens up for us the further recognition that this particularity and generality that is our personhood is not itself God, or the creating principle itself, but as created is outside of God, or ultimate being. Further, as outside of God we have been created in such a way as to be enabled to move towards God or away from God. In other words, we have degrees of self-determination but lack self-sufficiency. We are beings in need of relationship and incomplete without such interconnections, in part with our neighbor but ultimately with God. The goal of creaturely striving is relationship, or communion with God.⁹²

Finally, we can note in passing the value of an independent will in Christian thinking as affirmed by Fr. Florovsky, and developed in relation to this Neo-Patristic synthesis. Of course, the problem of the will is one that has been central to the theological disciplines since their inception. The debates of Augustine and Pelagius, later of Luther and Erasmus, or the Calvinists and Remonstrants denote phases in this continuing conflict. Today, it has often fallen to the discipline of psychoanalysis or psychiatry to help us understand the nature of the will. In this domain the search for the causes of behavior has meant the increasing reduction in analysis to elements of experience, complexes, and aspects of biological or chemical determination as they compose the psyche. The end of such increasing atomization is a psychic world devoid of meaning, the implications of which are taken back into the world of analysis and therapy.⁹³ Psychiatrist Jeffrey

⁹⁰ Georges Florovsky, "The Patristic Age and Eschatology: An Introduction," *Collected Works IV* 63-78; see "The Immortality of the Soul," *Collected Works III* 213-240.

⁹¹ Georges Florovsky, "The Iconoclastic Controversy," *Church History*, 29:2, 1950, 77-96; *Collected Works II* 101-119.

⁹² One might call this goal *divinization*, a word that can be easily confused with popular categories of being that eliminate the distinction between God and humanity. See Florovsky's article, "Creation and Creaturehood," in *Creation and Redemption*, *Collected Works III* 43-78.

⁹³ Here the contrast could not be more striking than between the world views and related work of Sigmund Freud and C. S. Lewis. See for the former, "The Question of a Weltanschauung," (Lecture 25), *New Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1926/1989 ed.), and for the latter, *The Abolition of Man* (London: Oxford, 1944).

Burke Satinover writes that contrary to expectations, Freud's attempt "to understand the sources for our neurotic longing for meaning" have proven inadequate. The gnawing quest for meaning continues. Choice, to be real, means free choice and ultimately that which we value is moral choice. In taking us to the substrates of functional subsystems, psychology and the practice of psychiatry have taken us back to theology.⁹⁴ Fr. Florovsky refused to let us forget that it is we who can create our own Hell even as we can accept grace.⁹⁵

Ministerial formation for effective local ecumenism will require attention being given to each of the three areas or sets of questions as they have been laid out above: purpose and cosmology as drawn into discussion on the nature of environmental degradation, the place of the Church and its mission in history, and that of the meaning of personhood as raised acutely by contemporary psychological speculation. Each of these areas raise questions that enliven or enervate contemporary church life. As such they are affecting how we associate ourselves with each other as Sodalities or Modalities of faith.⁹⁶ This is particularly true in churches of the Reformed tradition that wrestle with whether or not a third mark of the church, degrees of scriptural holiness and receptivity to the Spirit, should define church identity.⁹⁷ These three sets of questions pertain to whether we understand theology to be a science in itself or a discipline that interpenetrates all other disciplines, a topic of direct bearing upon the nature of theological education.⁹⁸ Throughout this paper we have noted ways in which Fr. Florovsky's emphasis on what might be called a Neo-Patristic synthesis can help Christians in whatever division of the greater Church they may be found to frame the questions most central to the set of problems currently being encountered and found to be divisive or unitive in local ecumenism.

⁹⁴ Jeffrey Burke Satinover, "Psychology and the Abolition of Meaning," *First Things* 40 (February 1994) 14-18.

⁹⁵ Georges Florovsky, "The Last Things and the Last Events," *Collected Works* III 258, 264-265.

⁹⁶ The construction of common church facilities available to different denominations through local ecumenical cooperation has had a mixed history in the United States given the nature of issues that have divided churches. A working example in Great Britain is described by Elizabeth Welch, "A Foretaste of Unity," *One World* 176 (June 1992) 5-7.

⁹⁷ Most Reformed churches follow John Calvin's lead in identifying two marks as constitutive of faithful church life, the proper preaching of the Gospel and sacramental practice which shows forth the grace of God through Jesus Christ. To this Calvin added a third mark, central but of a different status than the first two, the personal and corporate growth in the Spirit as evidenced in scriptural holiness. See Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion* IV 1. 9. 17.

⁹⁸ Such understandings mark the three primary approaches (Augustine, Aquinas, and Averroës) to the ways in which theology relates to other fields of knowledge, in fact, define whether theology sees itself or is seen as a science.

In dealing with the topic of local ecumenism we are, in the end, learning how to love our neighbor as ourselves. In this respect, Orthodox theologian John D. Zizioulas emphasizes that the very question of human dignity is involved in a proper framing of the issues we have discussed above. Zizioulas argues that the dignity of persons today is intricately bound up with Christian theology, that efforts today to tie such dignity to a new humanism and an autonomous morality are faulted. He writes, "Thus although the person and personal identity are widely discussed nowadays as a supreme ideal, nobody seems to recognize that historically as well as existentially the concept of the person is indissolubly bound up with theology."⁹⁹ With this idea in mind we might conclude by adding that local ecumenism involves Christian formation. That formation implies a new commitment to theological education. That that education, and its resulting effects upon local ecumenism, is fostered by a critical approach to Fr. Florovsky's neo-patristic synthesis. Perhaps in our day only a man, like Fr. Florovsky, with a deep sense of history, having lived through the Bolshevik Revolution and wars on two continents, a quater-emigré, can help us to wrestle anew with categories that are as old as our faith and as local as our neighbor.

⁹⁹ John D. Zizioulas, *Being as Communion* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Press, 1985) 27.

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Review Essay: Missionary and Martyr in Moscow: A Review of Recent Works By and About Fr. Alexander Men

MICHAEL PLEKON

Elizabeth Roberts and Ann Shukman, eds. *Christianity for the Twenty-First Century: The Prophetic Writings of Alexander Men*, (NY: Continuum, 1996), paper, 226 pages, \$19.95.

Yves Hamant, *Alexander Men: A Witness for Contemporary Russia, A Man for Our Times*, trans. Steven Bigham (Torrance CA: Oakwood Publications, 1995), paper, 233 pages, \$14.95.

Alexander Men, *About Christ and the Church*, Alexis Vinogradov, trans. (Torrance CA: Oakwood Publications, 1996), paper, 112 pages, \$6.95.

“Where are the great teachers of the Church,” a parishioner asked across the table. “With the passing of Frs. Schmemmann and Meyendorff and the others, who will take their place?” An honest sense of loss, from a woman of culture, art and faith, this comment, and always the reaction when giants are gone. If such is the case for Orthodoxy here in America (not to mention the rest of the churches), even more profound is the loss in the chaos of post-Glasnost, in Russia after the regime.

Only now in the West are we beginning to know the priest and teacher whose brutal killing we heard of in the fall of 1990. I recall well Serge Schmemmann’s article about it in the *New York Times*. Within the last year Fr. Alexander Men has erupted into English and into our consciousness. First came a lavishly illustrated biography by a friend, the French scholar Yves Hamant, really an intellectual history, which thrusts us into the turbulent 20th century experience of Orthodoxy in Russia, there to encounter this most unusual priest who became the major public voice of the Church

in so forceful a manner that it cost him his life. Under repressive conditions in the years of Khrushchev, Brezhnev and Andropov, this brilliant student was kept out of both the university system and formal theological education. Fr. Alexander's self-education, in a time of harassment and rigid control, is astounding. Without financial support and alongside full-time pastoral duties in his parishes and familial obligations, Fr. Men produced a formidable authorship: a seven volume history of the great world religious traditions inspired by Soloviev, several volumes on how to read the Bible, on biblical commentaries and scholarship, on liturgy and prayer, numerous journal articles, sermons, lectures, talks in people's homes, as well as a direct, accessible work on Christ, *The Son of Man*, due to appear in translation by Oakwood next year.

Not only did Fr. Alexander produce a literature any academic would have been proud of, he accomplished what the majority of professors never carry off. In his lucid writing he began the education of a generation deprived of understanding of Christianity, the Church and liturgy, the Bible but also the history and place of religion in human culture. He was a one man antidote to decades of Marxist propaganda, a personal university, one might say, for his writing, much of which was published abroad anonymously and under pseudonyms until Glasnost, crossed over the borders of the academic disciplines. He became, very quickly, both teacher and pastor to a vast "parish" in Russia. There were those more proximate who were baptized in adulthood by him, who could attend the services in his parish outside Moscow, come to him for pastoral conversation or confession. Beyond, there were more who could come to his lectures and read him. And just before his death, an even vaster audience was forming, his viewers on Russian television. Over the years, Fr. Men was personally connected to notables such as dissidents Dimitri Dudko and Gleb Yakunin, the poet Galich, Alexander Solzhenitsyn, Osip Mandelstam's widow, Nadeszhda, among others.

Buried among the ordinary parish clergy for the better part of 30 years, despite all of his study and writing, Fr. Men only emerged into public life just as the long winter of oppression was thawing under Gorbachev. Just as abruptly, he disappeared. Walking to the train to travel to Sunday liturgy on the morning of September 9, 1990, he was accosted by never-identified assailants, axed in the back of the head, dying shortly after attempting to crawl back home. The killing was not robbery and not haphazard. It remains which of Fr. Men's enemies — in right wing nationalist movements, in state agencies, even in the Russian Church — considered him such a

menace that his death was deemed necessary. We do not often read a priest or theologian's words these days, ideas such that others acted to remove and silence him. Yet such are Fr. Men's writings, such his witness.

The collection of his sermons from Lent through the paschal season, *Awake to Life* (Marite Sapiets, trans., Oakwood, 1995) revealed a direct and spare style, anchored both in the details of people's everyday life and in the Gospels and feasts of the Church year. Now we have more extensive access to Fr. Men's thinking in the *Continuum* anthology, the volume of transcribed "house conversations" on Christ and the Church, his responses in mini-lecture form to his parishioners' questions, and Yves Hamant's biographical study.

Hamant's work is both rewarding and frustrating. He is thorough and riveting in sketching the historical catastrophes of the Russian Church. Particularly revealing are his profiles of those who influenced Fr. Men: "underground" figures such as Frs. Batiukov, Ieraks and Skipkov and Mother Maria, later Fr. Golubtsov, themselves molded by the renowned spiritual fathers of the Optina monastery. We meet as well the better known Russian thinkers who most shaped him: philosophers Vladimir Soloviev and Nicholas Berdiaev, and the brilliant, controversial theologian Fr. Sergius Bulgakov. Hamant's work is almost a photographic history of the Russian Church in this century, alongside the rich collection of images of Fr. Men throughout his life. The photos themselves would have made a worthwhile publication! Hamant is most generous in quotation of Fr. Men's writings and interviews, so that in the course of the book, one not only gets him "on the ear," but begins to trace major themes in Fr. Men's writing. Moreover, Hamant describes the ways in which those close to Fr. Men attempt to carry on his work. However, as much as the biographical study acquaints us with the public figure of Fr. Alexander, the actual, tangible person he was, the husband, father, friend and pastor, eludes the reader. One simply does not come nearly close enough to the man. Likewise aside from a couple of photos and very brief mentioning, Fr. Men's family is almost non-existent, invisible. Perhaps they wanted it this way, perhaps others similarly preferred the intimate portrait subordinated to the larger (than life?) one. In any case, it raises the question of whether such a biographical undertaking was premature. As valuable as the sweep of Hamant's historical investigation is, Fr. Men's charisma was by no means restricted to his books or even to his lectures but was found, so I have been told, in the depth of his pastoral care, that is, in encounter with the person. Something of the richness and authenticity of a person, the combination of

admirable, but also puzzling, even less than positive qualities is lacking in Hamant, and taking its place is, in many ways, a too early hagiography.

A much more intimate experience of Fr. Men is provided, however, in the transcribed talks, *About Christ and the Church* which he gave in informal, home gatherings, in response to questions. One can almost hear the clatter of spoons and dishes, the backdrop of coughs and children's noise which surrounded the taped versions of these, now deftly and eloquently translated by Fr. Alexis Vinogradov. Fr. Men's learning and passion come through, and in lively, colloquial style. While we are warned both by a former parishioner and the translator that these are not polished, finished theological works, what come across in them is the dynamic *viva voce* presentation for which Fr. Men can now be heard to be rightly famous. As in some of the collected sermons and several of the interviews gathered in the Continuum anthology, the bold frankness assaults you: "Paganism is always easier for us...often what passes for Orthodoxy or another Christian confession is simply natural religiosity which, in its own right, is a kind of opium of the people..."(p.52). "When we say we are the Church of Tradition then this can be even understood in a perverted way, that we are the Church that died, the Church which stopped and froze like a mummy". (p.82). And it is by no means only Russians who may be shaken up by Fr. Men's assertion that their Church failed in what the Gospel demanded of her: preaching, witness, presence, hence atheism triumphed there for most of the century (p. 64). Many hyper-traditionalist, rigorist Orthodox even here in America will be disturbed by his words about Orthodoxy's historical flaws, its tendency toward rigidity and intolerance. And if these statements were not enough, Fr. Men will also provoke some by his respect for other Christian confessions, his recognition of the truth in Catholicism and in Protestantism as well. These conversations bring to mind the splendid volumes of Fr. Alexander Schmemmann's talks broadcast to Russia on Radio Liberty, now translated and titled *A Celebration of Faith* (St. Vladimir's Seminary Press). The faith is communicated clearly, in terms that even the unchurched person can comprehend, and without any pandering to current taste, without any dilution of its force or obscuring of its beauty. Most of all what is conveyed is the integrity that the Gospel gives. In both of these Alexanders we hear priests of integrity, mincing no words about the failings of fellow Christians in the Church, yet also men full of freedom and joy in the Risen Christ.

The anthology provocatively titled *Christianity for the Twenty-First Century*, edited by Elizabeth Roberts and Ann Skukman, continues the

experience of Fr. Men's thinking and teaching, in fact providing the best sampling so far between two covers. Included are interviews and lectures in which Fr. Men's boldness crackles off the page. He speaks as a child of the Russian Church, nourished by its saints, especially Seraphim of Sarov and shaped by such embattled yet luminous modern teachers as Soloviev, Berdiaev and Bulgakov. It is out of love that he condemns the failings of his Russian Church: extremist, right-wing insurgency manifesting itself in anti-semitism, fanatical opposition to any development of renewal of liturgical or catechetical activity, acquiescence to whatever form the state takes, czarist, communist, capitalist. Of particular insight is his lecture on the two understandings of Christianity symbolized by Doestoevki's Frs. Zossima and Ferapont in the Brothers Karamazov. These are world-affirming and world-hating tendencies, each of which becomes misguided in isolation from the other. The deep imprint of the Optina elders' spirit of openness to and love for the world, a truly paschal joy in the Risen Christ present in all, radiates in these selections as in the sermons and house conversations. One hears this especially in the lecture given the night before his death, from which the anthology takes its title. The freedom of the Tradition of the Church, of the children of God, of Christians of "true worship," comes in volley after volley in the collection of sayings, "A Credo for Today's Christian." What an experience it would be to bring these before a gathering of bishops, priests, the faithful — an then see the excitement (of all kinds) that would ensue. Fr. Men also addressed the atrocities even of our post-war, post-totalitarian time. He brings the violence and turmoil in the republics: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia into the mystery of the birth at Bethlehem in a Christmas meditation from 1989. At numerous points throughout all these translated writings he indicts the ruthlessness, even of educated, professional people today — the rage for success, the obsession with looks and money, the frantic, frenetic pace of work which consumes family, friends, health and life.

Even with these volumes and the translation of *The Son of Man* to come from Oakwood in 1997, only a fraction of Fr. Alexander's work is accessible to non-Russian readers. Much like Dietrich Bonhoeffer's partial revelation in his *Letters and Papers from Prison* years ago, so too, we cannot say we have experienced all the man, the breadth of his thinking, and its depth. And it is always the temptation to squeeze Fr. Men into niches into which he does not fit, that of the pure academic, the statesman-hierarch, the pious devotional author, and judge him on those comparisons. One can hope, that as with the publication of Thomas Merton's complete

journals, the broader publishing of Fr. Men's work will enable us to know both him and his proclamation of Christ better. Yet even with so partial a sampling thus far, two strong Men emphases dominate our impression from these books. The one he faithfully passes on from his own teachers, his constant centering on Christ and the mystery of "God-Manhood" (*Bogochelovestvo*) — God's becoming human and humankind's being deified, filled and completed in God. The incarnational, yes sacramental vision of the "churching" (*votserklovenie*) of all creation is one of the chief contributions of modern Russian theology to the whole Church and world. But God's incarnational reaching out must be matched by ours, as Church and by each Christian, individually. In Fr. Men's writing, and even more so, in his life and death, this response to God, this true synergy with God, is expressed and enacted. His is a singular embodiment of this bridging between God and man, between Church and churches, Church and world, between our time and the Kingdom.

Due to the tragedy of the schismatic "Living Church" movement after the Russian Revolution, the very word "renewal" has become poisonous and taboo in Russian Orthodoxy. Yet, this is also true, sadly enough, in other locations of the Orthodox Church, even here in America, among traditionalists, many of whom themselves are converts to Orthodoxy. Fr. John Meyendorff once said that the Tradition could be protected and preserved to death. Among the living voices of Orthodoxy to the other churches and the world we should now place Fr. Alexander Men and dare to hear his sometimes disturbing but dynamic and truthful expression of the Gospel.

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On the Life of Christ: Kontakia by St. Romanos the Melodist, translated with an introduction by Archimandrite Ephrem Lash (San Francisco: Harper Collins, 1995). P. xxxiii + 261.

This fine translation of eighteen Kontakia makes accessible in English some of the neglected treasures of Christian hymnography. St. Romanos is indeed well-known; but the 'Kontakia' of his which are still extensively used in the Orthodox Church are only the introductory verses of his original compositions, followed by the first stanza. This survival gives no sense of the structure of a complete Kontakion - chanted, metrical sermon, usually about twenty stanzas in length, characterized by vivid dramatization and lively dialogue. The Kontakion represents the brief though glorious flowering in Greek of a genre mainly associated with the Syrian tradition out of which the melodist himself came. Happily, the translator's familiarity with that tradition is frequently shared with the reader in pertinent notes.

The present volume is the first Christian contribution to a series sponsored by the International Sacred Literature Trust to assist each "faith community" in "enhancing its self-understanding as well as the understanding of those of other faiths and those of no faith." With this inter-faith audience in mind, appendices include a note on baptism and the Eucharist, as well as non-biblical influences and Orthodox liturgical time. The brief introductions and notes to the Kontakia, as well as Professor Andrew Louth's excellent introduction entitled "An invitation to the Christian mystery," present the texts in a way which is sensitive to the non-Christian reader without in any way compromising the Gospel. This volume is a brilliant choice to represent the theology of the Church in all its breadth and beauty. The person of Christ is central to the Kontakia selected here; and in the best tradition of His own preaching, they speak of Him through scriptural allusion and story. When they present the life of Christ in first-century Palestine, it is inseparable from His life in the Church today. These hymns are theological, liturgical and above all sacramental—and, like all good sermons, they leave us wondering where we stand in the Gospel story. Fr. Ephrem's care in placing them in liturgical context and pointing out allusions to sacramental life is a great asset. It is therefore a pity that the arrangement of notes is not ideal: all but the briefest are relegated to the end of the book, with no markers in the text to indicate their existence.

With its direct and colorful language and dramatic structure, the Kontakion is a popular form, and this quality is faithfully preserved in the present translation. While manifestly grounded in substantial scholarship, the notes are carefully pitched so as to be illuminating but not daunting for the general reader. Everything about this presentation of the Kontakia invites its use as a spiritual resource. The introduction refers to Romanos' "confident use of what is sometimes called allegory as way of setting the Christian mystery against the background of the 'many and various ways' in which 'God spoke of old to our fathers by the prophets' (Heb. 1:1)" (p. xix). The present translation offers great potential for bringing this patristic understanding to bear on contemporary study of Scripture at personal and parish level.

Elizabeth Theokritoff

The Orthodox Church in the World Council of Churches: Towards the Future. By Todor Sabev, (Geneva: WCC and Bialystok: Syndesmos) 100 pp. n.d.

The WCC is currently going through a process of consultations on its self-understanding and priorities. The present study is an Orthodox contribution to this process, intended "to review the long-standing Orthodox ecumenical commitment, to assess the present situation and its challenges, to envisage the role of the WCC and to indicate prospects for a vital Orthodox contribution within it" (p. 7). Aimed primarily at Orthodox theologians and ecumenical workers, it is intended to be accessible also to a wider audience.

Underlining that visible church unity is a concern central to Orthodoxy, Prof. Sabev gives a balanced review of the history of Orthodox ecumenical involvement, including the recently-discovered writings of a Russian bishop who in the 1850s was advocating an "ecumenical council" of the main Christian traditions.

Looking to the future, Professor Sabev discusses such delicate issues as the "ecclesiological neutrality" of the WCC, "contextual hermeneutics" and interfaith dialogue. As "the key image for a rearticulated ecumenical vision", he puts forward "the dynamic biblical notion of koinonia" (p. 33) - a concept he discusses in some detail, while acknowledging the problem of distinguishing "imperfect fellowship" from "full communion."

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"Arab" or "Semitic" ethnic identity during the same period.

In the preface, Olivier Clement notes that, despite the historical divisions of doctrine and church polity, "beauty was never divided," and he introduces Zibawi's album as an avatar of the "ecumenism of beauty" (p. 7). By the book's conclusion, however, this somewhat reductive aestheticization of Christianity turns out to be mere cosmetics, flaking away to reveal deep ethnic and confessional partisanship (despite denials to the contrary). These sentiments are grounded theologically, and we are needlessly reminded that paradise is in the "east," that Christ ascended in the "east," will return from the "east," and that, as the "new Adam," Christ himself is named "Orient" (Zach. 6.12, LXX). Under such an exclusivist regime perhaps the old Adam was better: his name was understood to be an inclusive anagram for north, south, east, and west: A(natole), d(yse), a(rktouros), m(esebria).

Nicholas P. Conostas

On the Mystical Life: The Ethical Discourses. Volume 1: The Church and the Last Things, By St. Symeon the New Theologian; translation and introduction by Alexander Golitzin (Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1995). Pp. 193.

Within the last forty years, St. Symeon the New Theologian, one of the most unique and compelling voices of the Christian mystical life, has been rediscovered. This volume, together with the two other subsequent volumes in this series, make available for the first time in English one of the most important series of treatises, the Ethical Discourses, by St. Symeon. For St. Symeon the mystical life is identical with the true Christian life, and it is necessary to seek and know God in Christ, through the Holy Spirit, in an intimate and conscious way in this life or one will not know Him in the next. Through this direct encounter with God the Christian is gradually transfigured into a god by grace. This mystical theme is prevalent in all of Symeon's writings and governs his theology, including the theological issues treated in this volume. Although lacking the personal warmth, poetic intensity and descriptions of direct mystical experience found in his Hymns or Catechetical Discourses, these Ethical Discourses are crucial in providing the clearest exposition of several of Symeon's major ideas.

This particular volume, which presents Ethical Discourses I, II, III, X, and XIV, is especially critical in exploring Symeon's understanding of sacred history, including the original creation of humankind, the fall and the final restoration and glory, and in detailing Symeon's beliefs regarding the Holy Eucharist, the position of Mary, and the doctrine of the Church. In a remarkable way, Symeon weaves these theological concerns together with the fact of his direct, personal experience of the presence of God. Thus, for Symeon, the Church is literally the Body of Christ, made one with Him through His real presence in the Eucharist for those who believe, and this intimate relationship is transformative; as Symeon declares: "...for (Christ) has now become our kinsman in the flesh, and has rendered us co-participants in His divinity, and so has made us all His kinsmen. Above all, the divinity imparted to us through this communion cannot be broken down into parts, is indivisible, and thus all of us who partake of it in truth must necessarily and inseparably be one body with Christ in the one Spirit (p. 45)." In a similar manner Symeon links his understanding of the eschaton with the mystical participation in the divine life, insisting that the Kingdom of Heaven and the day of the Lord are already present here and now spiritually and mystically in the faithful who experience the indwelling presence of God.

Fr. Golitzin has done an admirable job in preparing this volume. His translation is clear and fluid and the introductions he supplies for each treatise as well as his general introduction are concise and illuminating. This book is valuable for scholars desiring to better comprehend the development of Eastern Christian theology, with its emphasis on mystical encounter and theosis, the transfiguration of the person into a god by grace, and is especially welcome to those seeking a more comprehensive understanding of Symeon's theology. But Symeon never meant his works only for theologians, and any person striving to live the Christian life to its fullest measure will also find treasure here.

Helen Creticos Theodoropoulos

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Orthodox Christian Terminology. Constantine Cavarinos. Belmont, MA: Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, 1994. Pp. 80.

Dr. Constantine Cavarinos, a distinguished Greek Orthodox Christian philosopher makes available to the English-speaking world carefully thought-out, appropriate Orthodox terminology. In this work his contribution is to standardize the English language terminology for Orthodox Christian theology, hagiology, Church services and the sacred arts, as well as provide Greek-English and English-Greek glossaries of the terms. He feels that there is a need for standard terminology to articulate the Orthodox faith in clear and precise form. To attain this with success, one must go back to the sources. One needs to go to the Greek sources such as the *Septuagint* version of the Old Testament, the original Greek New Testament, the Ecumenical Councils, the Church Fathers, iconographers, hymnographers, musicians and musicologists. At present there is confusion of Orthodox doctrine due to the fact that terminology foreign to Orthodoxy is used to translate liturgical and dogmatic texts into English.

Professor Cavarinos gives suggestions on what terminology to use in regard to God, the Theotokos, the Saints, iconography, architecture, Church services, hymnography and Sacred music. Orthodoxy has a peculiar terminology that expresses the inner faith and doctrine of the Church. Misuse of language would lead to misunderstanding of the faith and ultimately to heretical teachings. For that reason Professor Cavarinos makes specific recommendations as to how to properly use words in English that give the true meaning of Orthodoxy and communicate the truth in proper English terms to the English-speaking people.

Dr. Cavarinos gives numerous examples of appropriate Orthodox use of terminology and makes numerous suggestions. The glossary is very helpful to those not familiar with the Greek and its proper translation and transliteration.

This book should be in every parish library and in the hands of clergy, catechists and interested Orthodox lay people and others in order to study and use the proper Orthodox terms when teaching the faith. I highly recommend this handy reference work to all, both Orthodox and non-Orthodox, for proper understanding and use of Orthodox terminology. This book deserves wide circulation.

Rev. Dr. George C. Papademetriou

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Orthodox Comment to the 20th Century Ecumenical Movement: Some Results and Challenges

EMMANUEL J. GRATSIAS

Church historians will one day certainly name these years the Ecumenical Century for it is in these times that sincere ecumenism matured. Many Christians have realized that there is a real possibility for churches to interact and find the saving grace of Christ in each other.

Men of deep faith and broad vision have helped make the Ecumenical Century. One of them is Fr. George Florovsky who – in providing so much theological foundation and framework for the ecumenical discussion – has gained the reverence of persons of all faiths. He is especially honored by Orthodoxy for the major role he played in her integration into the ecumenical movement. That is why today we honor the 100th Anniversary of his birth. He reminded us that our purpose in such activity is to seek unity or reunion not because it might make us more efficient and better equipped in our historical struggle but because unity is the Divine Imperative.

Orthodoxy is generally committed to the ecumenism practiced in the Florovsky spirit and has been willing to manifest that commitment within the formats that have evolved since the 1920's. Generally, the leadership and theological discipline of world Orthodoxy senses the Divine Imperative and is receptive to the movement. At times, some personages have provided strong leadership and initiative, many have agreed and followed, and some, being mindful of regretful and painful experiences spanning the last eight hundred years continue to be polemic towards non-Orthodox.

Relations between the Churches in the past were aimed at Church union but motives were not always genuine and too often based on gaining political or military advantage; and whatever contacts existed, were certainly

not pursued under the best of conditions.

In this 20th century, though there might be ulterior motives on the part of some ecumenists, we can say that the ecumenical movement has been essentially directed by genuine concern for True Faith, and for understanding, for working together to tame a world gone wild, to gain peace, and to manifest God's Kingdom. Surely our efforts have been guided more in the spirit of love, and as a response to Patriarch Athenagoras' call to "Let us look into each other's eyes."

Having looked into each other's eyes, and now eager to find the unity to which God leads us, Fr. Florovsky says that we must return to the mind of the early Church where, "there was no uniformity but there was a common mind".¹ "Now we need to seek the Truth that was embodied in that common mind; the divergent traditions that have developed need to be contrasted frankly and emphatically."² We differ on essentials and we cannot underestimate intellectual differences or disqualify theological professions. The Church must get to the essentials, with less dependence on our cooperation on political and social situations for "a common Christian front is not yet a reunited Christendom." Our differences have to be overcome and there can be no parity of divergent traditions; we can not view differences as complementary and then search for a synthesis, a lowest common denominator. The doctrinal formulations are not the doctrine. They are maps that lead and direct us through the Apostolic Faith. We search for agreement and unity based on that Faith and not on the formulations. And we must search.

With convictions like these Fr. Florovsky expressed well the Orthodox understanding for ecumenical mission and set the tone, standards and parameters for participation. Indeed, other Orthodox theologians have followed in his footsteps and generally in his spirit. Consequently, Orthodox welcome and are committed to the ecumenical discussion.

Marks of our unilateral Orthodox commitment in this century begin with the Patriarchal Encyclicals of 1902 and 1920. Orthodoxy was willing to take the initiative and set the vision at the beginning of this century. Essentially, she ended up responding to the initiative of others and in conference with Protestants and Catholics in the forums they had envisioned. Nevertheless, the Orthodox Churches responded and now participate in various manners. Their readiness to participate was reaffirmed in the statements of the Pan-Orthodox conferences of the nineteen-sixties and the Pre-Synodal Conference of 1976.

¹ Georges Florovsky, "Theological Tensions Among Christians," *Ecumenism I: A Doctrinal Approach*, Collected Works XIII.

² Georges Florovsky, "The Need for Patience," *ibid.* 21.

The bilateral/multilateral commitment is seen in the Churches' involvement in six international bilateral consultations, and in their membership in the World Council of Churches and various national and regional councils. Orthodox also participate in major and minor theological consultations around the world and her theologians in the last fifty years have contributed an abundance of books and articles related to the movement. One must add to the developing body of ecumenical tradition hundreds of letters, and annual greetings and visits exchanged by Patriarchs, Popes, and other Church leaders. Surely such participation and contribution was unexpected forty years ago.

After forty years of substantial participation, we Orthodox must ask if there have been any accomplishments, some substantive results that we can point to with some pride, some sense of accomplishment in fulfilling our goals of participation? I think there have been.

1) The ultimate purpose of the ecumenical movement being Unity in Truth, we can certainly receive joyously the results of the bilateral Eastern Orthodox/Oriental Orthodox Consultation. This dialogue began unofficially in 1964 when theologians of both churches, including Fr. Florovsky, met in unofficial discussion for three days. Recognizing "in each other the one orthodox faith of the church", they saw "the need to move forward together" because "the issue at stake is of crucial importance to all churches of the East and West alike and for the unity of the whole Church of Jesus Christ."³ These discussions gave foundation to the establishment of the Official Joint Commission of the Orthodox/Oriental Churches which first met as a full commission in 1989 and again in 1990. They met to study the differences in Christological dogma maintained by the two traditions.

The commission has stated that there is now no doctrinal issue dividing the churches. "We have now clearly understood that both families have always maintained the same authentic Orthodox Christological faith, and the unbroken continuity of the Apostolic Tradition, though they may have used Christological terms in differing ways. It is this common faith and continuous loyalty to the Apostolic Tradition that should be the basis for our unity and communion."⁴ Fr. Thomas Fitzgerald reminds us "the fact that this is the conclusion of an official Joint Commission formally established by both families of churches gives it an authority which is beyond challenge."⁵

³"An Agreed Statement" of the Consultation of the Eastern Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox Churches, 1964, in *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 10:2 (1964-65) 14-15.

⁴Thomas Fitzgerald, "Towards the Re-establishment of Full Communion: The Orthodox-Oriental Orthodox Dialogue," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 36:2 (1991) 178.

⁵Ibid.

Most significant, of course, is that the conclusions meet the criteria expressed by Fr. Florovsky and other theologians all along, i.e., that doctrine is all important, and that reconciliation and unity have to be based on agreement in the Apostolic Faith, even if expressed in different doctrinal formulations. We'll come back to this consultation later.

2) Orthodoxy should be very pleased and indeed take pride in the WCC – received document on “Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry,” the so-called Lima document. It certainly reflects in many areas the Orthodox doctrinal understanding underlying these sacraments. We participated from the beginning, made our points, contributed most significantly to discussions and conclusions. The document reflects that.

3) Tangible results include our participation in the WCC in which all Orthodoxy has been represented since 1960, and our membership in regional and national councils. The councils provide a forum for Orthodox witness, facilitate bilateral consultations and in an unexpected but extremely important result, have served as a catalyst for Orthodox Churches to rediscover one another and come into greater rapport.

4) Another unexpected but definitely most welcomed result of our ecumenical participation has been the positive influence for theological expression within the Church. The demands of our participation have stimulated our own theological research, clarification and expression. Wingenbach reminds us that Professor Alevizatos said that because of the ecumenical movement Orthodox theologians have discovered each other and banded together to support Orthodox positions providing a clearer profile of Orthodox doctrine. Professor Istavrides said the movement has effected “the rebirth of Orthodox Theology in the 20th century.”⁶ Theological study has broadened in scope, for much research today in any discipline is not done just for its own sake but also to expound on ecumenical issues.

There have been good results thus far and we can rejoice in them. However, good results bring old and new challenges to the surface.

1) Generally most people go along with the idea of ecumenism, supportive of anything that brings people closer together. Yet ecumenism needs to be understood and accepted amongst our clergy and laity not just as an attractive idea, but as a Christian imperative among our clergy and laity. It is not at present. In our parish life, ecumenism – the divine imperative – commands little attention, if any at all. When it does get attention it is often negative. It is a minority of our people that understands and accepts

⁶Gregory C. Wingenbach, *Broken, Yet Never Sundered* (Brookline: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1987) 162.

ecumenics as an integral dynamic of the living Holy Tradition we Orthodox are always ready to defend. We are challenged to sensitize and educate laity and clergy as to the role of ecumenical ideology in the sacred faith handed down to us. In the same light, we should not hesitate to confront the criticism that our participation is a violation of sacred Orthodox faith. What really constitutes a violation of Holy Tradition is to be blind to our ecumenical witness throughout history and avoid contact and honest dialogue with other Christians.

2) Our sincerity is challenged. We sense this in the history and results of the Orthodox/Oriental Joint Commission. Fr. Florovsky and others have always stated that formulation is not important as is the doctrine and faith behind the formulation. As mentioned before, the commission found that the Apostolic Faith is shared by both Churches. The commission finds no reason not to be united, and Orthodoxy finds much reason to be in unity. There are logistical problems; the manner of lifting anathemas (we have experience in that), jurisdictional problems of two or more hierarchs in one region (we have much experience there also!), and the manner by which unity is proclaimed and how we are to find ourselves partaking of the common Chalice. These problems are solvable and can be overcome. They are not the reason for disunity. Consequently, our churches are challenged now to manifest the unity that we understand should be there. If formulations are not the problem then we should be in unity. We are challenged to follow through.

3) Perhaps we are challenged by fear. Fr. Limouris points out that we seem to fear following through. We reach a point of understanding, or a situation demanding concrete action and we seem stymied. "The more churches come closer theologically, being in dialogue and agreeing to joint statements, the more they feel the 'sacred zeal' to protect their particularities in defense of the Christian faith. Do they really want visible and organic church unity? Are they ready to sacrifice towards this end? The road to unity is costly and painful."⁷ We are challenged to come to terms with these fears. Or is it guilt? Are we betraying the Fathers? Truth must win out over emotion. If we are confident in Truth, then we honor our Fathers.

4) We are further challenged when assumptions and presumptions once made in good faith and constituting the foundations of our dialogues and council activities are no longer valid. Can a bilateral consultation such as the Anglican/Orthodox, continue when it seems that the doctrines and faith on which we dialogue are now fleeing beyond our grasp? What is the

⁷ Gennadios Limouris, "The Understanding of the Church Emerging in the Bilateral Dialogues," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 36:1 (1991) 19.

future of such consultations? We joined the World Council of Churches and regional councils primarily to sit as honest partners in faith and order issues – the dogmatic substance that is so important to us Orthodox because it is what makes us Orthodox. Thirty years later we find ourselves primarily reacting to life and action issues initiated by others, with absurd “theologies” such as those revealed at Canberra. Or we confront a watered down theological commitment whereby mission statements of our own National Council of Churches avoid invoking the name of the Holy Trinity. The Orthodox are justified by such actions to question our future commitment to such forums. Perhaps patience is needed on our part. Since we certainly have been better recently at making our point, perhaps our ecumenical partners in the councils will want to give greater consideration to Orthodoxy’s concerns as together we determine the council’s future identity. Perhaps, too, we should consider putting our ecumenical efforts into other forums.

5) In addition, the new world situation has brought to the surface the old festering problem of the Uniate churches. This should not turn off our dialogue, as many have urged, but should now make it even more an imperative to sit with Rome and re-focus the dialogue toward this problem. It is precisely when our old angers rise to the surface and when the reasons for estrangement come to the forefront that we need to sit down to reach an understanding with our sister. The classical theological issues can be put aside for a time. It is right and good for Orthodoxy to expect open discussion of the Unia to determine motives, to see if we’re dealing more with power and control issues rather than theology, and to expect a readiness on both sides to confess error and a sincere effort to make things right.

6) Our commitment is challenged also by internal Orthodox limitations and problems. Lack of resources in one – not a deficiency of faith, love or sincerity of purpose, but one of personnel, finances, time, labor, and emotional resources. In light of an Orthodox reemergence in the new world situation these deficiencies are magnified. The changes in the former U.S.S.R. releases the Orthodox Church to focus on her immediate needs and to strengthen herself. Because of this limitation of resources at the time of this Orthodox emergence, the ecumenical participation of revitalized churches will be limited. Resources will be allocated inward for internal growth and strengthening as demonstrated by the recent gathering in Constantinople of the primates of all Orthodox churches. The commitment remains, but the fruit will be limited. From our partners in the ecumenical movement we would expect understanding and patience as we

turn inward and reassess. It is better for the ecumenical movement for a participant body to be strong. A church which senses her internal strength, her stability and confidence on internal matters is ultimately much more capable to deal with ecumenical witness. This is not stagnation. We can understand a pause for reassessment. We have been at it for over sixty years. We can be thankful for that. Now we need to pastor the movement.

I hear frustration on the part of many ecumenists. Something tangible should have been seen by now. Yet, look now. How can we expect to undo a thousand years of history in just sixty years? If we believe the Holy Spirit inspires the ecumenical movement then it is rather presumptuous of us to demand that it move quicker.

In conclusion, as we work to revitalize and refocus ourselves, we must always keep in mind that if we Orthodox are truly the Church that we say we are, it is and will always be our sacred responsibility to reach out to those who also identify with the name of Christ, and whose fathers shared one Chalice with our own. One can not say that if you missed even one iota of truth you are out of Truth. There is truth in the other churches; ours is to perceive where and how it exists outside the Orthodox Church, and to then rejoice in it and celebrate it. Contrary to those who could oppose our participation, Ecumenism is not a religion with a set of syncretized dogmas. It is not a search for compromise in faith, for truth cannot be compromised. Ecumenism is the search for truth in others.

Those who would weaken our commitment have adopted as their patron saint, St. Mark of Ephesus. St. Mark spent two years in the Ferrara-Florence Council. He served on every committee and was the primary spokesman for the Greek side. He went as a leading member of a delegation that agreed to sit in council on an unequal level and that had to go not out of spirit of love and reconciliation but out of political, military, and economic necessity. But he went sincerely and honestly, I'm sure, prepared to defend the Orthodox tradition while searching for the fullness of the Unity of the Church. He did not find it. Yet, at the behest of his Emperor he remained and worked for it.

Today, while we dialogue out of love and free will, in fulfillment of the Divine Imperative for unity, and do so without pressure, and on an equal basis, surely today St. Mark should be the patron saint of the Orthodox ecumenists.

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it may be doubted with what justification or success', p. 110). This is a fine book, the brevity of which conceals the vast amount of erudition Fr. Meredith has packed into its pages.

Andrew Louth

Ross Saunders, *Outrageous Women Outrageous God: Women in the First Two Generations of Christianity*, E. J. Dwyer, Sydney, 1996. Pp. 182.

Part of the problem in appraising the historical role of women in the Church, or their proper role in today's Church, lies in the fact that contemporary preconceptions cloud our vision and understanding. Much recent research has allowed us to sift through masses of archaeological evidence, enabling us to appreciate the social and religious constraints placed on women through the centuries and across the cultures. This book examines the writings of the New Testament, showing the counter-cultural position of the early Christians in relation to men and women.

The author is a theologian who also has qualifications and experience in communications. He is therefore able to present scholarly data in an accessible and uncluttered manner, while preserving an accurate and not uncritical outlook. The word "outrageous" in the title is meant to describe the manner in which the New Testament writers moved beyond the traditionally and socially acceptable, as well as the extent to which women gained prominence in early Christianity.

Saunders' approach is at once refreshing and practical: after considering the notions of shame and honor, as well as of female identity and family in the Mediterranean world, Saunders looks at all the women mentioned in the Gospels. These include women disciples, women in parables, and women who appear "by default". Interestingly for the Orthodox tradition, the woman who anointed Jesus (Matt. 26, 14) is not identified with the prostitute who anointed Jesus' feet (Luke 7), or again with Mary Magdalene. Next, the author explores the Book of Acts and the Epistles, concluding with a brief analysis of writings from the post-Apostolic era: the Apostolic Fathers, the *Didache*, Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*, the various Apocryphal works and the so-called *Apostolic Constitutions*. Saunders openly

discusses St. Paul's comments on women, by engaging his time and culture, thereby disclosing the positive outlook of Paul in a manner not unfamiliar to the patristic commentary tradition, especially St. John Chrysostom.

The evidence is unequivocal: women of the early Christian community were welcomed and encouraged to participate the life of the Church. In later centuries, the position and role of women were constrained by the increasingly hardening hierarchical structure of the Church. Orthodox readers may not easily or entirely understand how Saunders makes the leap to the matter of the ordination of women to leadership roles, but they will undoubtedly be reminded of the influence and importance of women in the Apostolic Church, which the Orthodox Church has acknowledged and articulated in recent years with discussions of the appraisal and re-introduction of deaconesses in the Church today.

John Chryssavgis

The Incarnate God: The Feasts of Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary 2 vols. Catherine Aslanoff, Editor of the French edition. Translated by Paul Meyendorff. Illustrations by Andrew Tregubov. Crestwood: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1995. Pp. 474 + index and glossary.

In order to appreciate the scope of this generally excellent work, one must first spend some time with its forerunner and companion two-volume set, *The Living God: A Catechism for the Christian Faith* (St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1989). In that work, two features stand out that set out for the reader the intent of both works, originally published in French, and can assist us in our assessment of the new volume. First is the ecclesial nature of the work. The second is that the works are designed for catechists, that is for those who will teach the faith to others.

The two works aim to deepen the reader's life in the Church, because as *Living God* states, "We can only enter into communion with Jesus in so far as we live with Him in the Church" (p. xv). Thus the aim of *Incarnate God* is to immerse the reader into the Church's liturgical celebrations of the great feasts of the Lord and the Virgin Mary by exploring the icons, scriptural themes, hymnology and the theological themes which explicate but also emerge from the feast.

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In Memoriam His Grace Bishop Gerasimos (Papadopoulos) of Abydos 1910-1995

**Our Righteous Father Gerasimos,
Bishop of Abydos***

ALKIVIADIS C. CALIVAS

Our father and teacher in the faith was a good shepherd, always sensitive to the needs of people, cognizant of their frailties, and aware of their potentialities. He treated everyone with dignity, understanding, kindness, patience, and love, urging them to find and refine with the help of divine grace their better and true self, the one made in the image of God. The power, the peace, and the joy of his inner life—which made the essentials of the Christian life so tangible to us—radiated through his captivating smile and the sparkle in his eyes. He was a man of profound faith, prayer, gentleness, generosity, and moderation.

Like a majestic tree whose time has come collapses suddenly to the ground leaving a gaping hole in the horizon, so too Bishop Gerasimos, our revered father and teacher in the faith, slipped unexpectedly from our midst leaving a void in our hearts. His story, told to us so eloquently yesterday by his beloved nephew, Professor Stylianos Papadopoulos, is the stuff of which the heroes of the faith are made.

He was not perfect. No one is. Perfection belongs only to God. But he was engaged earnestly in the struggle for perfection. As a true disciple of Jesus Christ he took to heart the commandment of the Lord: “be perfect . . . be merciful, as your heavenly Father is perfect and merciful” (Mt. 5.48, Lk. 6.36).

Day by day he looked into his imperfections in order to transform them through the grace of God, into virtues. We honor him with deep reverence

*Eulogy offered at the funeral of His Grace Bishop Gerasimos, June 16, 1995.

for waging with vigor his battle "against the principalities, against the world rulers of this present darkness, against the spiritual hosts of wickedness") (Eph. 6.12). His spiritual struggles, his genuine piety, his undaunted spirit, and his unwavering devotion to the truth demonstrated for us the significance and perennial value of the Gospel, the power of faith, and the sparkling clarity and simplicity of an authentic Christian life.

From his youth he was attracted to the righteousness and to the inexpressible beauty of God. Through the mouth of the ancient sage he heard the words of God and kept them in his heart: "My son, be attentive to my wisdom, incline your ear to my understanding; that you may keep discretion, and your lips may guard knowledge" (Prov. 5.1-2). These whisperings of God echoed loudly in the chambers of his heart. He heard others too: "My son, keep my words and treasure up my commandments with you; keep my commandments and live, keep my teachings as the apple of your eye; bind them on your fingers, write them on the tablet of your heart" (Prov. 7.1-3). Mulling over these sayings he acted decisively. In an act of total devotion he surrendered his life to the Lord.

During these last days many persons—hierarchs, teachers, priests, students, relatives, friends—have spoken about his person with kind and generous words of praise—all of them true—and with wonderful, moving descriptions of his life and work. Those who knew him and were inspired by his words and deeds nodded affectionately at each phrase, giving their assent, because the words of the speaker expressed their own understanding of him. In the sayings of others each of us recognized the qualities that made the righteous Gerasimos so dear, so special, and so real to many. Yet, as eloquent as these words were, it is in the Holy Scriptures, which he studied earnestly, loved dearly, and lived joyously, that we will find the images that describe him best:

Rejoice in the Lord always;....The Lord is at hand. Have no anxiety about anything, but in everything by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving let your requests be made known to God....[W]hatever is true, whatever is honorable, whatever is just, whatever is pure, whatever is lovely, whatever is gracious, if there is any excellence, if there is anything worthy of praise, think about these things (Phil. 4.4-8).

...[W]alk by the Spirit and do not gratify the desires of the flesh....[T]he fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, gentleness, self-control; against these there is no law. And those who belong to Christ Jesus have crucified the flesh with its passions and desires (Gal. 5.16, 22-24).

If I speak in the tongues of men and of angels, but have not love, I am a noisy gong or a clanging cymbal. And if I have prophetic powers, and understand all mysteries and all knowledge, and if I have all faith, so as to remove mountains, but have not love, I am nothing. If I give away all I have, and if I deliver my body to be burned, but have not love, I gain nothing. Love is patient and kind; love is not jealous or boastful; it is not arrogant or rude. Love does not insist on its own way; it is not irritable or resentful; it does not rejoice at wrong, but rejoices in the right. Love bears all things, believes all things, hopes all things, endures all things. Love never ends (1 Cor. 13.1-8).

Blessed are the poor in spirit... Blessed are the meek... Blessed are those who hunger and thirst for righteousness... Blessed are the peacemakers... Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God (Mt. 5.3,5-6,9,8).

Gerasimos, our righteous father and teacher in the Faith, had a life-long love affair with the truth. He lived by the truth and he proclaimed the truth. He made the confession as well as the mission of St. Paul his own: "...[T]he love of Christ controls us because we are convinced... that those who live might live no longer for themselves but for him who for their sake died and was raised....Therefore, if anyone is in Christ, he is a new creation; the old has passed away, behold the new has come" (2 Cor. 5.14-15, 17); and "...Woe to me if I do not preach the gospel!...For though I am free from all men, I have made myself a slave to all, that I might win the more....I do it...for the sake of the gospel, that I may share in its blessings" (1 Cor. 9.16, 19, 23).

For these many reasons Bishop Gerasimos became to each of us a shining light of faith, wisdom, and joy. Through his person, life, and work we got a glimpse of the Kingdom and we touched holiness. Perhaps nothing was as telling of the authenticity of his inner life of faith as when he celebrated the Eucharist and he received Communion. In the Liturgy, we knew that he walked with the angels and that he talked with God.

In my heart I believe him to be another "Όσιος Πατήρ, a righteous father. Having fought the good fight of faith, he has entered into the joy of the Lord and has received from him the promised crown of glory. On this side of death our righteous father Gerasimos counseled us and mediated for us. Now, on the other side of death he continues to make intercession for us. Let us therefore on June 12 of every year, the day he fell asleep in the Lord, honor his exemplary Christian life with the celebration of the Divine Liturgy, for surely he lives with the saints in God's eternal Kingdom.

With deepest respect, appreciation, and filial love.

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In Memoriam: Parthenios III, Patriarch of Alexandria

On July 23, 1996 Parthenios III, Pope and Patriarch of Alexandria, passed away suddenly while in Greece on the island of Amorgos

Parthenios III, Pope and Patriarch of Alexandria, was born Aris Koinides in 1920 in Port Said, Egypt. He obtained his primary and secondary education in the schools of the Greek Community of Port Said. Subsequently, he was sent by his Church to study at the Ecumenical Patriarchate's Halki School of Theology at the Monastery of the Holy Trinity. He subsequently studied at the Theological School of the University of Athens under the patronage of Prof. Hamilcar Alevizatos, following which he did post-graduate work in England

After his ordination to the diaconate and priesthood, he maintained strong contacts with both the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, as well as with the Church of Russia, having accompanied Patriarch Christopher during his visitations there. Parthenios represented the Patriarchate of Alexandria at the installation of Alexii I to the Patriarchal Throne of Moscow in 1945.

In subsequent years he served as Secretary to the Holy Synod and was elected Metropolitan of Carthage in 1958, having jurisdiction in six African nations. He developed extensive pastoral and teaching work throughout his vast Metropolitanate.

In 1968 Nicholas VI was elected Patriarch and Pope of Alexandria and All Africa. Shortly after his installation, Patriarch Nicholas brought Metropolitan Parthenios of Carthage to the Patriarch to serve the Patriarchate with special responsibilities in the sphere of ecumenical relations. In subsequent years and continuing after his election to the Patriarchal Throne in 1987, Parthenios became active in all levels of ecumenical work, eventually becoming a Co-president of the World Council of Churches and Chair of the Middle East Council of Churches. His paper on the Holy Spirit in

the Church and the world at the Canberra Assembly was read in his absence by Metropolitan John (Zizioulas) of Pergamon of the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

He was a sensitive Orthodox ecumenist, faithful to the Orthodox faith and tradition, but also sensitive to the call of the Holy Spirit for obedience to Christ's will that Christians overcome division. A participant in many ecumenical dialogues and committees, he worked for the elimination of obstacles to better relations with the Roman Catholic Church, the Old Catholics, and Protestant bodies. Patriarch Parthenios articulated, on a regular basis, his concern for relating Orthodox tradition with current life and events. He frequently expressed the demand and expectation of the Orthodox faith, that the Orthodox Church must respond to the pressing needs of suffering peoples in the world, with vision and forward-looking Christian engagement with the problems of the day.

He was a hard and efficient worker in the Lord's vineyard. He wrote hundreds of scholarly and more popular articles as a regular contributor from 1991 to his death in the publications of the Patriarchate of Alexandria, *Pantaenos* and *Ekklesiastikos Pharos* and in other journals. In addition, Patriarch Parthenios served as President of the Institute of Eastern Studies, working together with Arabic speaking Christians and Greek-Egyptian lay organizations in educational endeavors.

In his African pastoral and missionary activity, he struggled throughout his life against racism, working hard to incorporate into the Patriarchate of Alexandria the newly established predominantly black Orthodox Churches in East African nations such as Uganda, Kenya and Ghana. He expanded the ordination of indigenous clergy to the diaconate and priesthood, and ordained new indigenous bishops for the missionary Churches.

Following his sudden death in Greece, highest honors were bestowed by the Church of Greece which held a public viewing in the Cathedral Church of Athens, and by the Greek government which ordered a three-day period of public mourning and the honors due a head of state were accorded to him, including the assumption of funeral expenses by the state.

The remains of the Patriarch were flown to Cairo by a Greek military aircraft, and placed in the Patriarchal Cathedral of St. Nicholas for public viewing. The funeral was conducted on July 30, 1996, in the presence of representatives of the major Orthodox Churches, including the Ecumenical Patriarchate, the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches and ecumenical bodies. Among those in attendance was Pope Shenuda of the Coptic Church and representatives of the Egyptian state. His body was

buried in a crypt in the Holy Monastery of St. George in Old Cairo, the traditional burial place of Alexandria's Greek Orthodox Patriarchs.

He is remembered fondly by his flock and all who knew him as a well-educated hierarch of the Church, a prolific author, a man of pastoral concerns, and above all as a Christian believer: humble, polite, reverent, pious, soft-spoken, and a peace-maker. The Church on earth has lost an exemplary hierarch. The Church in heaven has received a faithful servant.

Αἰώνια ἡ μνήμη αὐτοῦ! May his memory be eternal!

Stanley S. Harakas

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Sean McDonagh, *Passion for the Earth*. Maryknoll NY: Orbis Books, 1994, 164 pages.

Fr. McDonagh is not new to the scenes of either ecological thinking or ecological action. An Irish Columban missionary who worked for twenty years in the Philippines, he has written masterfully and prophetically about the roots of our environmental devastation.

This book is passionate: it addresses our global crisis with a penetrating and positive analysis of the world's economic system from the profound perspective of the Catholic tradition. For me, this is *Roman Catholic theology* at its best: wisely confronting contemporary issues with the authority and clarity of a tradition that has learned to grapple with ethical and social questions through the ages.

McDonagh reminds readers of the Christian vocation to promote "justice, peace, and the integrity of creation," a phrase coined in ecumenical circles and suitably defining our predicament.

The early chapters of this book cover crucial themes such as unequal trading, world finance and local debt. The concluding chapters articulate an optimistic response of "prophecy" (ch. 6, pp. 103-123), "hope" (ch. 7, pp. 124-146), and "ministry" (ch. 8, pp. 147-161).

As in his earlier books, *The Greening of the Church* (1990) and *To Care for the Earth* (1987), McDonagh concludes with the link between environment and prayer. This book closes with a prayer by St. Basil. A fitting conclusion for a man who is a priest and the chairperson of Greenpeace, Ireland.

Max Oelschlaeger, *Caring for Creation. An Ecumenical Approach to the Environmental Crisis*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1994, 285 pages.

Max Oelschlaeger is Professor of Philosophy and Religious Studies at the University of North Texas. His previous book, also published by Yale University Press (1991) was entitled *The Idea of Wilderness: From Prehistory to the Age of Ecology*. It is a fascinating analysis of the condition of wilderness and the concept of nature through the history of civilization.

Caring for Creation argues that religion has an indispensable role to play in solving the global ecological crisis. It examines a broad range of religious traditions – almost exclusively Western – from Catholic to conservative Christianity, and from Judaism to Goddess feminism.

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Philosophy and Theology: The Demonstrative Method in the Theology of Saint Gregory Palamas*

STAVROS YANGAZOGLOU

The stance of St. Gregory Palamas in face of ancient Greek philosophy is generally critical. On the basis of the dual gnosiological methodology of the Greek Fathers, the subject matter of philosophy is differentiated from the sphere of knowledge of theology. Philosophy, however, is not rejected, but it is appropriated by theology, critically and supportively. Greek patristic theology employed even diverse elements, essential to philosophy, after previously transforming and harmonizing them in the Holy Spirit, in the context and the presuppositions of its own ontology.

From the eleventh century onward, the humanist movement in Byzantium provided new impetus for the cultivation of Greek letters, and encouraged renewed interest in the teaching of the Greek Apologists on the *spermatikos logos* which became increasingly popular among certain sectors of the Byzantine aristocracy.¹ In later centuries, when the art of the Palaeologan renaissance was flourishing, the narthexes and columns of churches were occasionally decorated with icon-like depictions of Greek philosophers. Nevertheless, Byzantine humanism, with few notable exceptions, remained within the framework of the official faith and dogma of the Orthodox Church.

During the fourteenth century, such humanism was promoted chiefly by Nikephoros Choumnos, Theodore Metochites and Nikephoros Gregoras.

*An earlier version of this paper was given at the Fifth International Conference of Greek Philosophy with the theme "Philosophy and Orthodoxy," Samos-Patmos, August 1993; see the collected essays in *Philosophy and Orthodoxy* (Athens, 1994) esp. 45-66. (in Greek).

¹ See B. Tatakis, *La philosophie byzantine* (Paris, 1959) 137-227.

This secularizing circle was also penetrated by others with more pronounced ecclesiastical and theological interests, such as Isidore Voucheras, Isidore of Thessaloniki, Nilus and Nicholas Kabasilas.² Thus, the youthful Nicholas Kabasilas was able to characterize those saints who had not studied secular philosophy as "imperfect," inasmuch as they could easily have acquired such knowledge through instruction and learning,³ while philosophers such as Gregoras and Metochites paraphrased the lives of saints as a form of literary and rhetorical divertissement. It is clear, though, that the humanists relegated the deeper cultivation of theology and theological letters to a decidedly inferior position within the curriculum. In doing so they were perhaps not entirely unjustified. Many contemporary theological works appear to be almost entirely devoid of any originality or creativity. At their worst, they tend to exhaust themselves in barren argumentation comprised of passages taken out of context from popular anthologies of patristic slogans and sayings. In short, it was essentially a "theology of repetition."

However, alongside the theological decadence of the fourteenth-century humanists, the monastic tradition continued to flourish. By its style of life and set purpose it preserved the character and identity of Orthodoxy. The young Gregory Palamas, upon completing his primary education, and then his detailed study of Aristotle under the tutelage of the renowned humanist Metochites, turned toward the monastic life.

The relationship between the humanist and monastic circles, however, was to be severely disturbed by the arrival and activities of Barlaam, a Greek monk and philosopher from Calabria, who was both a pioneer and product of the early Italian renaissance. With the commencement of the hesychast controversy in the fourteenth century, two different cultural and theological paradigms emerged and confronted each other squarely. On the one hand, there was the institutionalized and formalistic Christianity of certain Byzantine intellectuals who were imbued with the scholastic thought of the West, the first seeds of which were planted in the East by Barlaam. On the other hand, there was the living tradition of Orthodoxy, grounded in patristic theology, and expressed by Gregory Palamas, and later by Nicholas Kabasilas and many other theologians of late Byzantium as well.

² On intellectual movements in late Byzantium, see S. Runciman, *The Last Byzantine Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1970); O. Tafrali, *Thessalonique au quatorzième siècle* (Paris, 1913¹; Thessaloniki, 1993²) 149-169; J. Meyendorff, *The Byzantine Legacy in the Orthodox Church* (New York, 1983); and D. Moschos, "Untimely Thoughts on the Relationship Between Theology and Late Byzantine Intellectualism," *Synaxis* 43 (1992) 83-90.

³ See Nicholas Kabasilas, "Ὁσστασιῶν Θεσσαλονίκης τῇ Συναδηνῶν," *Byzantinische*

Within the context of the hesychast controversy, the relationship between philosophy and theology became a problem and became one of the main points in the dispute. In what follows, we shall turn our attention to this aspect of the controversy and, taking into account the positions supported by Barlaam and Gregory Palamas respectively, we shall concentrate on the question of the role of the dialectical and demonstrative methods in theology.

The Calabrian monk Barlaam was perhaps one of the last representatives of the indigenous Hellenism of Southern Italy. In order to study Aristotle on the basis of the original Greek texts, he traveled to the Byzantine capital in 1330 where he was received with honors by the dominant intellectual and aristocratic circles. In order to revive, as he saw it, the glorious past of his compatriots, Barlaam endeavored to stimulate a revival of classical Greek literature and learning. He taught successfully in Constantinople but his sharp and disputatious character quickly brought him into conflict with other Byzantine intellectuals. He thereupon moved to Thessaloniki where classical learning was flourishing, and established his own school.⁴

Barlaam taught philosophy in a way that was quite novel for the Byzantines: along with lessons on the various sciences he juxtaposed, without the slightest methodological discernment, the study of theology. As an ardent exponent of the new Western theology—something of a dialectical synthesis of Thomistic scholasticism and the positivism of Duns Scotus⁵—Barlaam attempted to redefine the philosophical and theological traditions of Byzantium based on these and other new developments then surfacing in western Europe. His lectures met with great success. He taught syllogistics, algebra, geometry, astronomy, and music, and considered himself to be the greatest interpreter of Dionysios the Areopagite. The Byzantines, who had long believed that the West was incapable of serious intellectual thought, were now forced to reconsider. Moreover, the Calabrian philosopher did not limit himself to the teaching of profane knowledge or even to the interpretation of the Areopagite corpus. Barlaam, three centu-

Zeitschrift 46 (1953) 36.

⁴ See Gregory Palamas, *Ὁμιλία* 33.3, in the series *Ἑλληνες Πατέρες τῆς Ἐκκλησίας* (E.P.E. = *Greek Fathers of the Church*), P. Christou, ed., Γρηγορίου Παλαμά Ἔργα 10, 334; cf. Tafrafi, *Thessalonique* 149-169.

⁵ See G. Schiro, *Barlaam and Philosophy in Thessaloniki during the Fourteenth Century* (Thessaloniki, 1959) 10 (in Greek); J. Romanides, *Romaioi or Romioi Fathers of the Church*, vol. 1 (Thessaloniki, 1984) 129f. (in Greek); and S. Ramfos, *Gladsome Light of the World* (Athens, 1990) 306-318; 336-341 (in Greek).

ries after the downfall on similar grounds of his compatriot John Italos, attempted once again to approach theological issues from a purely philosophical perspective. In addition, Barlaam was appointed by the emperor as an emissary to the Latin Church and committed himself to a program of ecclesiastical union by a defense of Eastern pneumatology based on the principles and methodology of Western scholasticism.

Barlaam's equivocal opinions on the Latin *Filioque*, however, as well as his gnosiological presuppositions, led Gregory Palamas from the obscurity of monastic solitude to play a leading role in the subsequent hesychast controversy. This was a controversy which was to play a decisive role in the agitated theological and cultural currents of the Orthodox East. Moreover, the focus of the controversy soon shifted from the issue of the *Filioque* to the nature and presuppositions of Orthodox theological methodology. In particular, to the relationship between secular philosophy and theology and especially to the question of the possibility of direct and true communion with the uncreated life of God.

In his attempt to refute the rationalistic argumentation of the Latin theologians on the *Filioque*, Barlaam wanted to prove that their reasoning was neither *dialectical* nor *demonstrative*. In his opinion, the former was not difficult to prove because the formal presuppositions for Latin syllogisms, as well as their conclusions, were disputed by the Orthodox. On the latter point, however, he met with insurmountable difficulties. In the first place, if he accepted that demonstrative syllogisms were applicable to theology, it would be impossible to show that the Latin syllogisms are not demonstrative.⁶ Thus, Barlaam denied any possibility for demonstrative judgments on theological problems. Because he argued that the only valid sources for theology are the texts of Scripture and the writings of the Church Fathers, he concluded that all theological opinions have only a relative validity. No further theological penetration of the revealed truths is possible. The solution of such problems is possible only through the authority of Revelation which, however, was construed as a collection of incomprehensible textual passages. Therefore, neither knowledge, nor science, not even demonstration, but faith alone is applicable to the questions of theology.⁷

For Barlaam, the demonstrative method is structured and actualized by means of primary data such as the universal laws, premises, and axioms

⁶ See Barlaam, *Πρὸς Παλαμὸν Α'*, in G. Schiro (ed.), *Barlaam Calabro epistole greche, i promordi episodici e dottrinari delle lotte esicaste* (Palermo, 1954) 265. See also Gregory Palamas, *Πρὸς Βαρλαάμ Β' 2*, in P. Christou (ed.), *Γρηγορίου Παλαμᾶ Συγγράμματα*, vol. 1 (Thessaloniki, 1988²) 260-261.

⁷ Gregory Palamas, *Πρὸς Βαρλαάμ Β' 2*, 266.

which precede all conclusions. However, because all these are predicated of created beings their demonstrative application is necessarily limited to the realm of the created and thus cannot have any application to the divine. Moreover, if the universal laws and axioms from which such demonstration is attained constitute the *cause* of the demonstrated conclusion, the human mind cannot know of any law or axiom which could constitute the cause for a conclusion regarding the Holy Trinity.⁸

In order to reinforce his position, Barlaam made recourse to the apophatic theology of Dionysios the Areopagite which he interpreted as an agnostic denial of the possibility for *theognosia*, or knowledge of God.⁹ To this he added the Aristotelian argument that the divine transcends all demonstration. According to Barlaam, the Greek philosophers ruled out the possibility of any demonstration of the divine because they comprehended that the divine transcends human reason. Again, the problem of agnosticism is solved only through direct revelation. This, he argued, is the spiritual "contemplation" and divine illumination received by the prophets, the apostles, and the Fathers of the Church, as well as the ancient philosophers.¹⁰

Whatever the ancients received through contemplation we also can attain through diligence and study. In this view, dialectical syllogisms logically elucidate the simple and partial impressions received by the philosophers through divine illumination. Moreover, only the dialectical syllogism can deal with all things, even with the knowledge of the divine.¹¹ Nevertheless,

⁸ See G. Schiro, *Barlaam and Philosophy*, 14-15.

⁹ J. Meyendorff correctly observed that the dispute between Palamas and Barlaam is basically a dispute between two different interpretations of Dionysios the Areopagite. See J. Meyendorff, *Grégoire Palamas, Défense des saints hesychastes*, vol. 1 (Louvain, 1959), xxxv. We are of the opinion, however, that Meyendorff's theory on the existence of a "Hellenizing" Patristic tradition, represented in fourteenth-century Byzantium by Barlaam, is untenable. According to Meyendorff's theory, prominent members of this alleged "Hellenizing" group were Dionysios the Areopagite, Evagrius Pontikos and Gregory of Nyssa whose Neoplatonic intellectual apophaticism was followed by Barlaam. In contrast, Gregory Palamas is seen as the leader of a "Biblical" Patristic tradition. In his critique of Barlaam, Palamas is seen as in fact correcting the Areopagite himself. See J. Meyendorff, *Introduction à l'étude de Grégoire Palamas* (Paris, 1959) 193-194, 201, 217, 264-266, 282-288. J. Romanides accurately indicates that in the hesychast controversy Palamas, not Barlaam, was the only correct interpreter of the Areopagite, see his *Romaioi or Romioi Fathers*, vol. 1, 96-101. For more on this subject, see my study, *Communion in Deification: The Synthesis of Christology and Pneumatology in the Teaching of St. Gregory Palamas* (Thessaloniki, 1995) (in Greek).

¹⁰ See Barlaam, *Πρὸς Παλαμᾶν Α'*, in Schiro, 262. See also Gregory Palamas, *Πρὸς Βαρλαάμ Α'* 34, 245.

¹¹ See Barlaam, *Πρὸς Παλαμᾶν Α'*, in Schiro, 249, 255.

Barlaam, in keeping with his theological agnosticism, sees the function of dialectical syllogisms in theology as deductive through the knowledge of things. Because truth is seen as one and uniform, in secular knowledge as well as in Christian revelation, a disciplined and dedicated study of secular sciences can purify the soul's understanding and lead to its assimilation with the divine archetype. He who knows God is he who sees God "either by analogy, cause or decision." According to Barlaam, even this *theognosia* by analogy is predetermined by the exigencies of scholastic thought. The analogy of existence (*analogia entis*) between created beings and spiritual, archetypal ideas inherent in God, grants to the human mind the possibility of penetrating the being of God through the study of created reality. Thus, the one who has knowledge of even the most obscure aspects of creation is closer to a vision of God than one who does not. Likewise, the one who perfects his knowledge of the internal harmony linking the various elements of the universe, and so observing the mystical laws which govern their relations, is a visionary of God.¹² The knowledge of things through science, understood as a cleansing of the mind from ignorance, is seen as necessary in order for one to rise and contemplate the "immaterial archetypes" of the "holy symbolisms of Scripture."¹³ It is evident, then, that Barlaam's naturalistic theory of knowledge, despite its exaltation of the (Neoplatonic) concept of spiritual illumination, is completely irreconcilable with the experience of life in Christ according to the Orthodox tradition.

Barlaam's preference for dialectical syllogisms as a mode of access to knowledge of the divine, along with its inherent tendency to reduce theology to philosophy, provoked the vigorous opposition of Gregory Palamas. The Athonite monk argued that Barlaam had simply elevated the "science of created things" into a method of *theognosia* and then introduced it to the Church of those who "philosophize in Christ."¹⁴

From the very outset, Palamas stressed that the divine is beyond dialectical disclosure since it transcends every human thought and conception. In addition, he maintained that the divine is not susceptible to logical demonstration inasmuch as the truth of God radically transcends every syllogistic method.¹⁵ This agnosticism, however, is not absolute. Accord-

¹² Gregory Palamas, *Τριάδες ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερῶς ἡσυχάζόντων*, 2. 3: 64, in P. Christou, *Γρηγορίου Παλαμά Συγγράμματα*, vol. 1, 597.

¹³ *Τριάδες* 2.1:5, 469.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 1.1:4, 363.

¹⁵ *Πρὸς Βαρθολαίμ Α'* 33, 244.

ing to Scriptural revelation and the tradition of the Fathers of the Church, certain aspects or qualities of God are knowable, some may be investigated, some may even be demonstrated, but others are absolutely unknowable and unexplorable.¹⁶ This of course is the well-known distinction in patristic theology between essence and energy in God, which Palamas elaborated upon extensively in the ensuing phases of the hesychast controversy. The "God who is" of the Bible is not simply essence and hypostases without energetic dynamism. Gregory Palamas insisted that "God is also that which is not essence,"¹⁷ distinguishing between the tri-hypostatic essence of God and God's uncreated energies which express the *ad extra* life, power, and will of the Holy Trinity. The distinction between the uncreated, incommunicable divine essence and the uncreated but communicable divine energies, according to the Orthodox tradition, allows for the active and charismatic relationship between the uncreated, and transcendent God and the created world.¹⁸ Regarding knowledge of God's essence (*what* God is), then, the uncreated God is totally unknown to created beings, even to the saints who receive the gift of God's uncreated grace. No contact with, or knowledge of, the divine essence is possible and thus no logical demonstration can possibly be produced for it. The fact that God exists, however, as both One and Three (*that* God is, and *who* God is), and that "around" God are the various properties of the divine nature and hypostases, can be investigated and demonstrated.¹⁹ Needless to say, an obvious prerequisite for all this is the fact that God personally revealed these things to humanity within the framework of the salvific economy, renewing a charismatic relationship with humanity through the Church. The experience of life in Christ teaches that there exists the possibility of direct communion and relationship with God through God's uncreated energies. Thus, when there is contact between God and knowledge, there is demonstration.²⁰

Contrary to this, Barlaam, clearly misinterpreting Dionysios the Areopagite, and for the first time in the Orthodox tradition of the East, declared that no demonstration of the divine is possible. Indeed, Dionysios states that, "God is known both through knowing and through unknowing;

¹⁶ *Πρὸς Ἀκίνδυνον Α', Συγγράμματα*, vol. 1, 212; *Πρὸς Βαρλαάμ Β'*, 19, 271.

¹⁷ *Κεφάλαια φυσικά καὶ θεολογικά, Συγγράμματα Ε'* 111.

¹⁸ For more on this subject, see my study, *Introduction to The Theology of Uncreated Energies: A Study of St. Gregory Palamas* (Katerini, 1992) (in Greek).

¹⁹ *Πρὸς Ἀκίνδυνον Α'* 8, 211-212.

²⁰ *Πρὸς Βαρλαάμ Β'* 21, 272.

God is an object of understanding, speech, and knowledge, of contact and of the senses, of notions, of imagination, of names and everything else, and yet, simultaneously, God is neither understood, and cannot be spoken of, nor named."²¹ For the Church Fathers, apophatic theology does not abolish the cataphatic approach, but both are organically synthesized. Theological apophaticism does not signify agnosticism. Instead, knowledge through "un-knowledge" comprises apophatic knowledge. Thus, theological demonstration is not realized only within the limits of cataphatic theology, within which God bears all names and designations of the demonstrable. Such demonstration is possible, in the Orthodox view, also through apophatic theology, under the condition that the experience of the presence and action of God in nature and history precedes the demonstration. Gregory pointedly asked Barlaam: "Cannot one demonstrate that the creator of all is not a part of the creation? Cannot one demonstrate that the Good One is not the cause of any evil?"²² The Areopagite corpus had already indicated the possibility of applying the demonstrative method to theology when it stated that,

the tradition of theology is twofold, on the one hand it is ineffable and mystical, on the other manifest and knowable, on the one hand symbolic and ceremonial, on the other philosophical and demonstrable. Thus, the expressible and the ineffable are intertwined, the one convinces and demonstrates the truth of the words, and the other acts and establishes in God through the ineffable mystagogies.²³

Although charismatic theology, i.e., the experience of the Church, is naturally connected with dogma and expressed through theological language, such language does not supersede faith. What we believe is not the result of demonstration, neither is it possible to parse syllogistically the mystery of faith. Nevertheless, having as a presupposition a living and experiential *theognosia*, the theology of the ecclesial community is not a matter of uncertainty and perpetual dialectic. It is, rather, a firm and demonstrable knowledge which can be conveyed to others through the words of the "divine science."²⁴

Patristic theology, primarily through the examination and elaboration of triadology and christology, teaches that syllogisms regarding God are indeed permissible. Therefore, Palamas clarifies that no one should blame

²¹ Dionysios the Areopagite, *Περὶ θεῶν ὀνομάτων* 7:3 (PG 3, 872A).

²² *Πρὸς Βαρλαάμ* B' 14, 267-268.

²³ Dionysios the Areopagite, *Ἐπιστολὴ* 9 (PG3, 1105D).

²⁴ *Πρὸς Ἀκίνδυνον* A' 13, 217-218.

the Latins for their use of syllogisms. The problem lies in their presuppositions and in their method and use of theological syllogisms. Every dialogue on subjects about God and every syllogism must necessarily be placed within the framework of theological principles only.

In ancient Greek thought, the theological syllogism is a form of dialectic, "the plausible resulting from those things generally admitted, which means the possible from those things which are probable."²⁵ In the Christian tradition, on the other hand, theological *theognosia* does not have its starting point in principles of probability. Instead, it starts with firm, incontestable and necessary bases. These are the God-taught and God-inspired principles of the Gospel and the Fathers of the Church.²⁶

In this perspective, the use of dialectical syllogisms is excluded because it refers only to the possible and probable, "which do not always exist in the same form, for at one time it is, and at another it is not, and at one time it is true and at another time it is not." Contrary to this, the demonstrative syllogism refers to "the necessary and eternal and always true and always true as such." The argumentation used in dialectical syllogisms is sometimes purposely turned around or is initiated using as a starting point probabilities which sometimes are true but other times are totally foreign to the subject in question. Demonstrative syllogisms, on the other hand, pursue truth through proven, not antithetical, premises, and demonstrate by using premises which are always true to, and relevant to, the subject. Dialectical syllogisms do not operate with the causes of the subject as a basis, sometimes not even with the causes of the conclusion; for this reason that which is deduced in the end is a mere notion and not necessarily incontestable. Demonstrative syllogisms, for their part, are formulated using the causes not only of the conclusion but also of the subject in question and thus the final deduction is always true.²⁷ Nevertheless, if, according to

²⁵ *Ibid* A' 9, 213.

²⁶ *Ibid*.

²⁷ *Πρὸς Ἀκινδυνον* A' 13, 218. *Πρὸς Βαρλαάμ* B' 16, 269. See Aristotle, *Τοιικά* A1 100, a27-b23, "Reasoning is *demonstration* when it proceeds from premises which are true and primary or of such a kind that we have derived our original knowledge of them through premises which are primary and true. Reasoning is *dialectic* which reasons from generally accepted opinions. Things are true and primary which command belief through themselves and not through anything else; for regarding the first principles of science it is unnecessary to ask any further question as to why: but each principle should of itself command belief. Generally accepted opinions, on the other hand, are those which commend themselves to all or to the majority or to the wise - that is, to all of the wise or to the majority or to the most famous and distinguished of them. (Eng. trans. *Loeb Classical Library*, G.P. Goold, ed.).

Barlaam, dialectical syllogisms pursue the knowledge of the divine while demonstrative syllogisms pursue only knowledge of created things, then dialectical syllogisms must be superior to demonstrative. "This your Aristotle would never forgive," Palamas reminded the Calabrian philosopher. Dialectical syllogisms of course function with the following four elements: *gender, term, form and accident*. All these may be applied with universal validity to the multiplicity of created things but not to the unique uncreated God, whose every quality literally exists only for God's self.²⁸

For the above reasons, Palamas rejects dialectical syllogisms in favor of demonstrative syllogisms in theological gnosiology. We shall examine below how Palamas answers Barlaam's specific appeals and we shall describe the specific presuppositions which permit the use of the demonstrative method in theology.

The Calabrian philosopher rejects the use of demonstrative syllogisms in theology because of the inaccessibility and sheer absence of primordial knowledge: "demonstration is prior to the thing demonstrated, but nothing is prior to God."²⁹ Indeed, in human knowledge nothing is so primordial that it would allow for an application to God. Nevertheless, Palamas clarifies that, although demonstration is inapplicable to the divine essence, it can be applied, under certain conditions, to things surrounding the divine essence. These are the natural characteristics and the hypostatic attributes which are caused and, although they do not exist prior to the divine nature, they certainly do not follow chronologically the uncaused nature of the Triadic God.³⁰ Because of this, theology can make use of the universal laws and axioms of the demonstrative syllogism. In the same way that the

²⁸ *Πρὸς Βαρλαάμ Β' 17, 269-270; Πρὸς Ἀκίνδυνον Α' 9, 212-214*. Already in the second century the philosopher and martyr Justin observed in his work, *Ἀνατροπὴ Δογμάτων τινῶν Ἀριστοτελικῶν*, "having done this not according to the demonstrative science that the Greeks used with respect to God and creation, but rather [dialectically] through assumptions imagining things defined" (*ΒΕΠΕΣ* series, vol. 4, 189). Because of this methodological inconsistency, as well as Gregory Palamas' assessment that the theological syllogism of the Greek sages, and especially of Aristotle, is ultimately a dialectic of notions, L. Siasos, in his study *Dialectic in the Manifestation of Nature* (Thessaloniki, 1989) (in Greek), investigates the special function and application of the dialectic method within natural science as recorded in Aristotle's works on physics.

²⁹ See *Πρὸς Ἀκίνδυνον Α' 9, 213*.

³⁰ It is interesting that Palamas, in a purely philosophical tangent, stressed that primordial knowledge for the formulation of demonstrative syllogisms should not be understood chronologically even when used for the epistemology of created things. This is because these things in themselves precede and the logical thinking process of the human mind follows. See *Πρὸς Ἀκίνδυνον Α' 10, 214*.

demonstrative method pursues true knowledge of created things, it can also lead to a true and incontestable conclusion regarding the uncreated. Our experience teaches us that the same method may be used for those things which have to do with us and those things which are outside of us.³¹ This, however, is not suggestive of a weak demonstration which is easily disputed and refuted logically.³² The element which differentiates the theologically demonstrative syllogism from all other syllogisms is that its premises necessarily come from the God-given words of Holy Scripture or the God-inspired writings of the Fathers. The patristic declarations of course do not comprise, in and of themselves, demonstrations. Everything, however, which necessarily follows from them and is deduced from them as conclusions, based on syllogistically developed statements, is characterized as theological demonstration.³³

One such example of theological demonstration, based here on the teaching of Dionysios the Areopagite on the procession of the Holy Spirit, is adduced by Palamas as follows: Dionysios teaches that "the only cause of the super-essential divinity is the Father,"³⁴ and that "the source of divinity is the Father; wherein the Son and the Holy Spirit are scions, blossoms and super-essential lights."³⁵ If, then, we syllogistically consider that:

-The Spirit is by nature from God,

-*That which is by nature from God has its source in God, i.e., it has its source in the source of divinity,*

-The source of divinity is the Father only,

then we can conclude that: The Spirit is from the Father only.

This syllogism is demonstrative and indisputable. Its propositions are true. Their opposites are false. They always remain immutable. They are primary, immediate and better known than and prior to the conclusion. They are related to the subject. They contain the cause for the conclusion. They lead to self-evident and demonstrative principles.³⁶

Palamas was not satisfied, however, with merely securing the use of the demonstrative method for theology. In addition, he is concerned to differentiate it from dialectic syllogism, and thus proceeds to a critical consideration of the philosophical demonstrative syllogism and of the Aristotelian position on God being above demonstration.

³¹ *Πρὸς Βαρλαάμ* A' 52, 255-256.

³² *Ibid.* A' 56-57, 257-258; *Πρὸς Ἀκίνδυνον* A' 10, 214.

³³ *Πρὸς Ἀκίνδυνον* A' 10; *Πρὸς Βαρλαάμ* A' 31-32, 243-244.

³⁴ Dionysios the Areopagite, *Περὶ Θεῶν ὀνομάτων* 2:4, (PG 3, 668AB).

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 2:7, (PG 3, 672A).

³⁶ *Πρὸς Ἀκίνδυνον* A' 11, 215; *Πρὸς Βαρλαάμ* B' 8, 264.

He argues that the primary purpose of demonstration is the finding of truth through its immutable cause, using as premises the universal laws and axioms which by nature must be known and accepted by all. Nothing, however, is agreed upon by everyone: "And this was shown by the children of the Greeks and their sages who continually refuted each other and were in turn refuted by others based on another supposedly superior argument."³⁷ Thus the "Skeptics deny everything in general while Pyron disagrees with Sextus and rejects the value of any syllogism, thus nullifying the possibility of universal acknowledgment."³⁸ Christians, furthermore, disagree with the Aristotelian principle that nothing can be made *ex nihilo*. Thus, if the discordance of opinions characteristic of philosophical thought abolishes those things which are known by nature, how is it possible for the demonstrative premise and proposition to exist as naturally known, and, consequently, how can the demonstrative syllogism itself be valid?

Furthermore, according to Aristotle, the demonstrative method is applied chiefly to the necessary and eternal, to those things without beginning or end. How, then, can this be applied to created things when we now accept the Christian concept that these creatures are mortal and corruptible? According to the Stagyrte philosopher, "there is no demonstration for the corruptible."³⁹

Also, demonstrative syllogisms are based on the knowledge of primary and immediate premises which are derived from experience. Experience, however, is not infallible. Consequently, a formulation of an intellectually evident truth, i.e., an Aristotelian demonstration, is not achievable in the domain of created things.⁴⁰

But even the inference through which accurate knowledge of specific things is attained is not applicable when these specific things are unexplainable: "no creature is found always the same, for none of them are eternal." How then can one pass from unexplainable particulars to the universals which comprise the premises for the demonstrative method? How can one have an unchanging perspective on that which is forever changing?⁴¹

Syllogistic demonstration, Gregory Palamas concludes, can be refuted to the extent that it illustrates the sceptical saying: "Every argument may

³⁷ *Τριάδες* 1.1:1, 361; 2.1:41, 502-503.

³⁸ *Πρὸς Βαρλαάμ* A' 57, 258.

³⁹ Aristotle, *Ἀναλυτικά Ὑστερα* 1.8.

⁴⁰ *Πρὸς Βαρλαάμ* B' 57, 293.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* B' 58-62, 293-295.

be refuted by another argument.”⁴² Therefore, the demonstrative method in theology is employed with discretion and as an aid. Whatever disadvantages it has should not be ignored and it should never be placed above the accepted positions and arguments of the Church Fathers.

What, then, of Barlaam's (Aristotelian) position that God is above demonstration? Indeed God is unknowable to the human mind. However, many phenomena within creation are also beyond demonstration. Therefore, the position that God is above demonstration by itself is not sufficient as an argument for divine transcendence. Moreover, theological demonstration, as conceived by Palamas, surpasses Barlaam's "beyond demonstration" argument as a superior method and cannot be compared to it because it places God much higher, examining and knowing through revelation and experience certain things regarding the divine.⁴³ Palamas also drew Barlaam's attention to a major inconsistency in ancient Greek thought: despite the fact that the divine was supposedly beyond demonstration, the Greek philosophers, including Aristotle, developed elaborate systems of theological conceptions. Some examples are the spiritual enlightenment of Socrates and of Plato, of Plotinos and of Proklos; the self-existing ideas and Platonic *eros*; the golden epics of Pythagoras; the Neoplatonic theurgies; polytheism and reincarnation; the theory on the eternity of matter; Aristotle's conceptions on the soul and a multitude of gods. All these quite clearly do not serve as an indication of or argument for divine transcendence. According to Palamas, the "beyond demonstration" argument of Greek philosophy must instead refer to the poverty and inadequacy of human expression: "To see God is difficult, but to describe him is impossible."⁴⁴ In this way, the argument is not an acknowledgment of divine transcendence because, despite this supposed divine transcendence which would make God inaccessible, these philosophers considered themselves able to comprehend the divine during moments of internal illumination.⁴⁵

The way in which Gregory Palamas perceives and differentiates the theological demonstrative method from the dialectical and demonstrative syllogism also reveals his general attitude towards philosophy. *Theognosia* is not a matter of dialectical syllogisms and logical demonstrations which result either in easily refuted or in mutually conflicting conclusions. This

⁴² *Πρὸς Βαβυλῶν* B' 63, 295.

⁴³ *Ibid.* B' 14-15, 267-268.

⁴⁴ Plato, *Τίμαιος* 2.8c. Gregory Palamas, *Πρὸς Βαβυλῶν* A' 35, 245-246.

⁴⁵ *Πρὸς Βαβυλῶν* A' 45-51, 251-255. *Ibid.* B' 53-54, 291-292. *Τριάδες* 1.1:18, 381-382. See also Gregory the Theologian, *Λόγος Θεολογικός* A' 10 (PG 36, 24AC).

is so because those things which can be studied by science and philosophy are distinguished from the contents and method of theology.⁴⁶ "There are two types of wisdom."⁴⁷ The task of philosophy is the "study of the truth within beings" which strives to benefit and improve the present life and employs logic as an instrument. The task of theology, on the other hand, is the investigation of the divine dogmas, the truth "about He who truly is and Who is above all being." Theology, taking the experience of relationship with God as a necessary presupposition, through faith as a self-evident first principle (Scripture and tradition), strives for a more lucid clarification and demonstration of that faith.⁴⁸ Thus, the comparison of philosophy and theology is not a mere juxtaposition of methods; rather, it is a juxtaposition *par excellence* of two different worlds, two different realms of being.⁴⁹ This twofold gnosiology is characteristic of the Greek patristic tradition and was developed because of the intense and often dramatic conflict between ancient Greek thought and the Biblical faith and the experience of the Church.⁵⁰ In contrast to Barlaam and Western scholasticism, Gregory Palamas limits the subject matter of philosophy to the examination of and knowledge of created reality. As long as philosophy confines itself to the knowledge of created things it fulfills its purpose as a natural gift from God. In this role, it can only offer a vague and imperfect concept of God.⁵¹ It is an "introductory" *theognosia* through created realities. When, however, philosophy is seen as a viable road to salvation, illumination and

⁴⁶ *Τριάδες* 2.1:42, 503-504.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 1.1:17, 380-381. See also *Τριάδες* 1.1:14, 424, "And Basil the Great also said that there are two types of truth, the one is and grants of necessity, existing as an aid to salvation, about the earth and the sea, the heavens and those things under the heavens. If we do not see truth in these, however, we are in no way prevented from blessedness," *Ὁμιλία εἰς Ψαλμούς* 3 (PG, 256BC).

⁴⁸ See *Ἀντιρρητικός* 6.1, *Συγγράμματα Γ'* 379-380. See also Clement of Alexandria, *Στρωματεῖς* 7.10, "While faith is, then, a comprehensive knowledge of the essentials, knowledge, on the other hand, is the strong and sure demonstration of what is received by faith."

⁴⁹ See B. Tatakis, "Gregory Palamas, Methodology," in *Studies in Christian Philosophy* (Athens, 1981²) 81-82 (in Greek). This however is not indicative of the ontological dualism of Platonic thought; rather, it is the Biblical and patristic conception of the dialectic between created and uncreated.

⁵⁰ On the twofold gnosiology of the Greek Fathers and especially of Palamas, see P. Christou, *The Teaching of Twofold Knowledge According to St. Gregory Palamas*, Theological Studies 3 (Thessaloniki, 1977) 141-150 (in Greek); N. Matsoukas, "The Twofold Theological Methodology of Gregory Palamas," in *Proceedings of the Conference on St. Gregory Palamas* (Thessaloniki, 1986) 75-105 (in Greek).

⁵¹ *Τριάδες* 1.1:17-18, 380-382.

complete *theognosia*, or (as Barlaam saw it) even as a gift of the Holy Spirit similar to Biblical revelation, then it becomes demonically distorted. Not infrequently, Palamas notes that his polemic was not against philosophy *per se*: "That which we say now is not about philosophy generally, rather it is about *such* philosophy."⁵² Philosophical knowledge can be either beneficial or harmful depending on how it is used. It prepares for, and contributes to, the investigation and development of natural knowledge but it can also be harmful when it is seen as an end in itself and as a road to salvation. Certainly its use should lead to the understanding of and the selection of the beneficial and to the avoidance of purposeless and harmful instruction.⁵³

The crucial question, though, is whether or not philosophy offers anything useful for theology itself. Palamas' answer is affirmative.⁵⁴ The employment of the useful elements of philosophy, however, requires great caution for it is like "honey mixed with hemlock." The careful removal of the dangerous, and the gleaning of the beneficial elements, is useful as an excellent, and efficacious antidote to the dangers of philosophy. This eclectic and critical use of philosophy is illustrated by Gregory Palamas with the traditional example of the snake:

On the subject of profane wisdom, then, you must first kill the snake by lessening your arrogance which the snake causes in you (how difficult this is!), because "the neighing of philosophy" they say, "is the corruption of humility." Once you kill the snake, you must then cut it into pieces and throw the head and tail away as extreme and unmitigated evils, that is to say, the clearly erroneous conceptions on the spiritual and the divine principles, as well as the mythology which revolves around creatures. And regarding the body left in between, that is, the examination of nature, as in the case of the pharmacists, who clean the bodies of snakes by boiling them in fire and water, in such manner you also with the investigative powers and vision of the soul can discern the dangerous meanings therein. Even if you do all these things and use well that which you properly discerned, how

⁵² Ibid. 1.1:16, 379; 2.1:13, 476. S. Agourides, misunderstanding the context and the presuppositions of the controversy between Palamas and Barlaam as well as the twofold gnosiology of the Greek Fathers, states that "in the domain of the Eastern Church never have more serious condemnations against Greek thought and philosophy been formulated than those found in Gregory Palamas who apparently identifies Hellenism with the West." See his, "Orthodoxy and Hellenism," in *The Balkans and Orthodoxy* (Athens, 1993) 84 (in Greek). See also G. Schiro, "Gregorio Palama e la scienza profana," in *Le Millenaire du Mont Athos* (1963-1963), vol II (Venice-Chevetogne, 1965) 81-96.

⁵³ Ibid. 1.1:6-8, 366-369.

⁵⁴ Ibid. 1.1:20, 383.

difficult is this task and how much discernment is needed! However, if you use well a part of profane knowledge, that which you have correctly gleaned can never be evil because it was created to be an instrument for something good. Despite this, it still cannot be considered a "gift of God" or "spiritual" for it is of a natural order and not from above.⁵⁵

Even without its autonomy and absolutism, philosophy, in and of itself, still remains within the natural order and is not properly speaking a gift of the Holy Spirit. The Fathers of the Church, however, advanced somewhat further and adopted elements from philosophy which in their original form were irreconcilable with Biblical faith, and subsequently harmonized them with the melody of the Holy Spirit.⁵⁶ This is the "innovating of names" known to patristic theology. As an example, the philosophical distinction between *begotten* and *unbegotten* may be cited. This distinction took on a completely different ontological content in patristic thought as a distinction between created and uncreated. The *self-existing ideas or spiritual archetypes or forms* became the uncreated volitional energies through which God creates freely *ex nihilo* and through which God relates providentially and charismatically with creation.⁵⁷ Even the formation of trinitarian and christological terminology—*nature, essence, hypostasis, person, energy*, etc.—originated from the general background of Greek thought.

There is no doubt that philosophy can become a divine gift if it is connected to the faith and love of God. It can indeed be purged of the harmful and take on the beneficial once it relinquishes its autonomy and is placed within the context of the Church and illuminated by divine wisdom. Reborn through divine grace, philosophy is transformed into something "new" and "divine-like," it becomes a discourse of edification, it knows and accepts the gifts of the Holy Spirit. It becomes the wisdom from above of those who "philosophize in Christ."⁵⁸ This awesome feat of the tradition of the Greek fathers of the Church is what Palamas attempted to communicate to Barlaam.

The Calabrian philosopher, influenced by Western scholastic thought, perceived the knowledge generated by philosophy and theology as uniform. Hence, he accepted the dialectical method because it begins with, and has as its premises, the universal laws and the data of created reality,

⁵⁵ Ibid. 1.1:21, 384-385. See also 2.1:16, 479.

⁵⁶ *Πρὸς Βαρθολαῖμον* A' 31, 243.

⁵⁷ On this subject see the article by N. Matsoukas, "The Twofold Theological Methodology of Gregory Palamas" 81-82.

⁵⁸ See *Τριάδες* 1.1:9, 370-371; 2.1:23, 486.

which are subsequently applied to God. In this way, Barlaam sought the eternal and uncreated within the temporal and the created. This stance clearly does not take into consideration the foundational distinction of Biblical and patristic theology between the created and the uncreated; it also ignores the self-evident and revelatory presence and activity of God in the history of the Church. Barlaam, along with medieval scholastic theology, denied methodologically the empirical basis for *theognosia* because he rejected the uncreated presence and participation of God, especially, in the liturgical and ascetic life of the Church. This is so because, on scholastic terms, divine grace and energy are not truly distinct but are identified with the incommunicable essence of God. Thus, no vision or direct experience of God is possible without created intermediaries. Any gift of God, even the light of Tabor, inasmuch as it was perceived by the physical senses, constitutes a "created spirit" or a "created symbolic representation." On the basis of such created representations, the soul rises through philosophy toward the immaterial archetypes which constitute perfection and the fullness of *theognosia*. In an intellectual deception such as this the demonstrative method is indeed useless, simply because it has nothing to demonstrate.

On the other hand, *theognosia* according to Gregory Palamas is not achieved through a dialectical method of abstract laws and principles. Instead, it is an *event*, a direct charismatic experience given to those who are pure of heart and mind, who are illuminated in body and soul by the uncreated light of divine grace. The prophets, the apostles and the saints of the Church ascended and ascend to this height of vision and communion with God. Together with this charismatic theology, which is basically a theophany of God, rationalistic theology has its place. The latter begins from and elaborates upon the insights of the former. "For our theology speaks not even one word that has not been expressed through divine Revelation."⁵⁹ The formulation and interpretation of Orthodox dogma is the task of scientific theology which records with names and concepts the experiential realities of the divine presence. Thus, the use of any terminology or method, of course critically transformed and liturgically assimilated by scientific theology, is placed within the context of investigation and description, of syllogism and of the demonstration of ecclesiastical experience. A naked knowledge of dogma is of course of no avail.⁶⁰ The process of

⁵⁹ Λόγοι Ἀποδεικτικοί, Β' 57, Συγγράμματα Α' 130.

⁶⁰ See Τριάδες 1.1:9, 369-371. N. Matsoukas correctly observed that "If for whatever reason there are certain theologians who merely study scientifically the monuments and the

syllogizing and demonstrating in theology certainly must have *experiential* participation in the mystery of faith as a presupposition, i.e., a *theognosia* of life, action, and experience. As an experience and participation in God, theology transcends all intellectual and rationalizing discourses. Summarizing these notions, Palamas supplements the well-known saying: "Every argument refutes some other argument," with the phrase: "But who can refute another person's way of life?"⁶¹

Without the above observations it is impossible to assess properly the relationship between philosophy and theology in the patristic tradition and especially the issue of theological method in the hesychast controversy of the fourteenth century. The Byzantine theologians, with Palamas in the lead, rejected the uniform methodology of medieval Western scholasticism not, of course, because of an inability to comprehend it owing to their supposed inferior level of culture, as some scholars have claimed,⁶² but rather because they understood theology as an experience and as life, distinguishing the investigation and knowledge of created reality from the experience of the reality of the uncreated God.

very living reality without tasting for themselves the theology of grace, this is another subject. The ideal reality is the patristic theological climate: the harmonious combination of erudite and charismatic theology." See, "The Twofold Theological Method of Gregory Palamas," 83.

⁶¹ *Τριάδες* 1.3:13, 423.

⁶² Byzantinists such as Beck and Podskalsky, conclude that, in Byzantium, philosophy played no essential role in the thought of the Fathers. The use of philosophy was limited to their struggle against the heretics and did not function productively and creatively with theology which remained unsystematized and simple-minded. They have argued that the conflict between Scholastic and patristic theology in late Byzantium manifested the scientific and philosophical insufficiency of the Orthodox and the advanced and systematic theology of the scholastics. See H. G. Beck, *Das Byzantinische Jahrtausend* (Munchen, 1978) (in Greek trans. by D. Kurtovik [Athens, 1990] 225-278.) G. Podskalsky, *Theologie und Philosophie in Byzanz* (Munchen, 1977). See also the book review by N. Matsoukas on this study of G. Podskalsky in the periodical, *Gregory Palamas* 66 (1983) 314-320 (in Greek).

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Book Reviews

Robert L. Wilken, *Remembering the Christian Past*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1995, pp. x+180.

According to the distinguished author of this volume, who is the William R. Kenen, Jr. Professor of the History of Christianity at the University of Virginia at Charlottesville, this volume of essays "are a modest effort in remembering aspects of Christian tradition that have been forgotten," as he says in the Introduction. Professor Robert L. Wilken notes that the chapters deal with authors unfamiliar to most of the potential readers of this book, and with issues that arose "in cultural settings distant from our own," but he argues for the importance and, more importantly, for the relevancy of these ancients and their thought.

The chapters that make up this volume come from numerous sources and varied publications. As is the case with any collection of essays and articles, the reader can discern a certain amount of discontinuity on the one hand, and repetition on the other. But in this case, not much. Dominant throughout is an academic historian's effort to reclaim not only the importance of the Christian past, but also its value for the contemporary reflection and understanding.

While the book holds together adequately and stands on its own, the potential reader of this volume would do well to first take up Wilken's 1971 work, *The Myth of Christian Beginnings* (1980 edition by the University of Notre Dame Press). Both are works of critical scholarship, and full of insightful observations. On the surface, the two volumes, separated by almost a quarter of a century, seem to be antithetical in purpose.

The earlier volume has a strong, one might say, relativistic character to its thesis, which tends to minimize the significance and normative character of the past. In the epilogue, Wilken summarizes his oft-repeated thesis:

Like a good story, the value of the past lies in the telling, not in the moral drawn from the tale. The past gives no authority and yields no imperative save that it is there. It happened and it is remembered. We learn from the past, but what we learn is always tempered by who we are, when we live,

and what we anticipate. The moral, to continue the analogy of the story, comes from the storyteller. The meanings we assign to the past arise out of the crucible of the present and our hopes for the future. The moral keeps changing because we keep changing. Even the professional historian, trained to approach his task with scientific precision and accuracy, realizes that the historical memory of the same events changes as it is filtered through the experience of a new generation of historians.

Wilken is arguing here against an uncritical reading of the past and the assumption that it can be brought into the present unadulterated and without reflection on its context and circumstances and without reflection on the present circumstances into which it is brought. This judgment is not only good history, but also good theology. Rote repetition of the tradition is no substitute for nuanced, theologically informed reflection on the tradition.

It may be, however, that the case was made so strongly so as to correct the perennial tendency in religious bodies to idealize the past to the point where its significance becomes frozen and hardened into a blind and unreflecting fundamentalist mentality.

In *Remembering the Christian Past*, Wilken has shown that with that point made, the epistemological somersault in the past several decades that has taken place in a broad Christian intellectual spectrum, may also now require a corrective. The "experience based" epistemology which assumed for the present historical process an uncritical revelatory authority, has born its fruits and now clearly is shown for its ability to rewrite history in a way that misinterprets it, distorting it and making it into a caricature.

While very much in the mode of historical description and analysis, the essays in this volume seem clearly to be affirming that, indeed, it is not only a present and subjective meaning that can be found in history, but that its message can correct, illumine, reorient and refresh the present.

The first essay in the volume is Robert Wilken's Presidential address to the American Academy of Religion in 1989, titled "Who Will Speak for the Religious Traditions," in which he challenges the understanding of religious studies, which is merely descriptive and "unbiased." This stance, a product of the Enlightenment, stands at the heart of much university based "religious studies." Wilken, however, is bothered by the sterility of the process and balances the assumption of a dispassionate uncommitted use of reason with a call to wisdom born precisely of memory. "At times," he says, "it seems as though the ticket of admission to religious studies is a

forfeiture of memory. And that is too high a price to pay" (p. 13). In the light of the previous volume, the following words take on added force and intensity:

Without memory the language of scholarship is impoverished, barren, and lifeless, a tottering scaffold of secondary creations in which "words refer only to words." If we keep a cool distance from temporality and history, we make the task of understanding more, not less, difficult (p. 15).

Wilken recognizes that entry into the understanding of the past is more than intellect and that "objective reason" is not adequate, if not severely limited as an avenue of discourse. He adds:

The image of stepping back is misleading if for no other reason that it assumes there is a place to step back to, as though we could grasp something on its own terms unrelated to where we are or where we stand. Autonomy is not a precondition for understanding: quite the contrary, as reason penetrates more deeply into things its imaginative and critical powers are unleashed. Insofar as memory aids in this work, its role is not only prophylactic but constructive (p. 15).

Wilken repeatedly affirms in this essay and in many of the others in this book that in the monotheistic religions "conviction and rational justification have been complementary, seldom adversarial," and further that "the great religious traditions of the world are not only communities of 'faith,' they are also communities of learning" (p. 17). Wilken's speech to the professors of religion encourages them to step into the traditions of faith which they study so that they can better convey their significance in a constructive and more authentic way.

The subsequent seven chapters deal with the intellectual traditions of Christians and (in some measure) with Jews in this scholarly, yet empathetic method. Religious pluralism, the conviction of faith, trinitarian thought, biblical promises, the lives of saints, "Loving God with a Holy Passion," and then back to the main thesis of the book with a concluding chapter, "Memory and the Christian Intellectual Life."

For the Orthodox theologian this book is a refreshing wind of good sense, in an often barren atmosphere of rationalistic minimalism in religious studies. The persons who populate this volume are not only scholars, such as Kant and Gadamer, but also the religiously wise such as Origen and Tertullian, Chrysostom and Gregory of Nyssa, Augustine and Abelard, Clement of Alexandria and Maximos the Confessor; lives of Saints, such as Symeon the Fool for Christ, Evagrius of Pontos, and Dostoevsky.

The Orthodox reader will not agree with every description and every evaluation in this volume. But its major thrust is most welcome, a step in the return to the wisdom needed to read and experience the tradition of faith and to profit by it.

Stanley S. Harakas

Chrysostomos Konstantinidis (Metropolitan of Ephesos), *Ἡ Ἀναγνώριση τῶν Μυστηρίων τῶν Ἑτεροδόξων στίς διαχρονικές σχέσεις Ὁρθοδοξίας καί Ρωμαιοκαθολικισμοῦ* (The Recognition of the Sacraments of the Heterodox in the Diachronic Relationship between Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism). Epektasis Publications, Katerini, 1995 pp. 272 (in Greek).

The author of this book is well-qualified to write on issues of ecumenical significance. Metropolitan Chrysostomos of Ephesos is the highest ranking hierarch in the Church of Constantinople in the Holy Synod after the Ecumenical Patriarch; he is also Professor of Orthodox Dogmatic Theology at the once renowned Theological School of Halki; and he is Chairman of Inter-Church and Ecumenical Relations Synodical Commission of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. His own prolific writing over the years—with numerous articles, addresses and homilies recently appearing in monumental volumes—have established him as an authoritative, sound, and at the same time open-minded Church leader, who is able to maintain a balance between the need for both doctrinal depth and catholic breadth in bilateral and multilateral discussions between the Christian Churches.

In examining similarities and differences in the sacramental theology of the Catholic and Orthodox Churches, Metropolitan Chrysostomos first develops a theological definition of sacrament (pp. 46-9). There is no rigid tone of apology in his writing, but only a sincere effort to analyze systematically the development of doctrinal thought through the centuries in the Orthodox tradition, the later Confessions of Faith, as well as the more recent theological treatises of both Churches. The bibliographical material (pp. 225-249) cuts across historical and denominational barriers, although it is somewhat restricted in terms of publications—especially in the English language—over the last decade. The first section of this volume covers, from an Orthodox viewpoint (the emphasis of the author is clearly Pneumatological and ecclesiological), topics such as, sacraments and grace (pp. 50-52), the number of sacraments (pp. 66-68), and the “indelibility” and value of the sacraments (pp. 69-76).

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Review Essay: John Boswell, *Same-Sex Unions in Premodern Europe*

KENNETH W. KEMP AND ROBERT KENNEDY

A careful and detailed analysis of Boswell's controversial work, thoroughly examining the literary, historical, and interpretive foundations of Boswell's understanding of the practice of *adelphopoiesis* as "same-sex marriages" in pre-modern Europe. The evidence raises serious questions regarding the adequacy and validity of Boswell's thesis.

The question of how Christianity adapts to new cultural environments and how it adopts or transforms indigenous institutions is, and should be, a topic of abiding interest. A study of the artificial kinship relationship which the Greeks call ἀδελφοποίησις (and the Slavs, *pobratimstvo*) should contribute to our understanding of this interesting topic. This custom was practiced by both Greeks and Romans in Classical times and persists down to our own day in the Balkans. It has been alternately blessed and condemned by Christian (particularly Eastern) churches.

The relationship has been the subject of numerous studies over the last century and a quarter.¹ It may be made between two or several individuals of the same or opposite sex. It may be permanent (and under Greek canon law could even create impediments to marriage) or temporary. Some varieties are voluntary; other varieties, in an emergency, can be imposed by one party on the other. Non-voluntary relationships are distinguishable from those entered voluntarily (*pobratimstvo nevolje* and *pobratimstvo prichestno*), but both are types of ἀδελφοποίησις.

¹ Giovanni Tamassia, *L'Affratellamento* (ἀδελφοποίησις): *Studie storico-giuridico* (Turin, 1886); Stanislaus Ciszewski, *Künstliche Verwandschaft bei den Südslaven* (Leipzig, 1897); and numerous articles, some of which are cited in the notes to this review.

The custom had a variety of uses. It might be used to cement a political alliance, as it was by the Emperor Justinian and Strategios in the sixth century;² by Boris Vasilkovich, Prince of Rostov, and Peter, son of the Tatar Khan, in the thirteenth;³ and Suleiman I and John, Prince of Transylvania, in the sixteenth.⁴ Another account of such a use comes from seventeenth century Dalmatia:⁵

Ivan of Segna, the most notorious of the ... Uscochi [anti-Turkish guerrillas], receives a letter from Pantza of Udbinje, a Turkish stronghold, saying: 'Listen to me, Ivan of Segna! Meet me where the coast curves and let us make peace and *pobratimstvo*. Enough have we fought on our frontiers, warriors enough have died. Let us make peace.'

The relationship might be used to create a family by an only child, as it was in the town of Dmitrovka, in the Ukraine, and elsewhere,⁶ or to establish family connections in another town.⁷ Or it might be based on a personal friendship, as it was between the Byzantine Emperor Romanos IV Diogenes and Nikephoros Bryennios (the elder):⁸

The pretender deceived them by saying, 'Directly Bryennios Nikephoros hears that I have come to Adrianople, he will open the gate and receive me with delight, For although it was not a tie of nature, but of choice, he always had a brotherly feeling for my father....' He used also to call Bryennios 'uncle', perverting what had a foundation of truth. For it was a fact that the former Emperor Romanos Diogenes, knowing that the man Bryennios excelled all his contemporaries in judgment, and observing his open disposition and general truthfulness in word and deed, had desired to adopt him as a brother. And as both parties were willing, this adoption was effected.

² K. Rhalle, "Περὶ ἀδελφοποιῶς" *Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρίς* 3 (Athens, 1906-7) 293-306, at 294.

³ Ciszewski, 58.

⁴ Pavel Josef Safarik, *Památky drevního pisemnictví Jihoslovánu* (Prague, 1873) 83.

⁵ Mary Edith Durham, *Some Tribal Origins, Laws, and Customs of the Balkans* (London, 1928) 158. Boswell cites this book on p. 270, n. 39, and elsewhere.

⁶ Ciszewski, 56. See also Leopold Kretzenbacher, "Gegenwartsformen der Wahlverwandschaft 'pobratimstvo' bei den Serben und im übrigen Südosteuropa," *Sammelwerk: Grazer und Münchener Balkanologische Studien—Beiträge zur Kenntnis Südosteuropas und des Nahen Orients*, Band II, (München, 1967) 167-182.

⁷ N.A. Nachov, "Za Pobratimstvoto," *Periodicheskoto spisaniye na bulgarskoto knizhnovo druzhestvo v Sofia* 49-50 (1985) 32-72, at 61.

⁸ Anna Comnena, *Alexiade* X.3. Trans. Elizabeth A. S. Dawes (London, 1928).

They were often invested with a religious significance, as illustrated in the following passage from a blessing reported by S. Bobchev:⁹

We are all brothers in Christian faith and love; however, this is simple brotherhood [*bratimstvo*]. As for real *pobratimstvo*, it can be solemnized only on Saint John's Eve. This is because, although Saint John refused to baptize Our Lord Jesus Christ, at last he baptized him and thus they became *pobratimy*, just as you now want to be. And from that very moment, *pobratimstvo* appeared in the world....

These relationships came to the attention of John Boswell, Yale historian and author of *Christianity, Social Tolerance & Homosexuality*,¹⁰ twelve years ago, when a friend he chooses not to name put him onto a copy of a prayer blessing ἀδελφοποίησις in Jacobus Goar's *Euchologion sive rituale graecorum*.¹¹ The result is Boswell's book *Same-Sex Unions in Premodern Europe*.¹²

In this book, Boswell suggests that these relationships are, if not exactly marriages, at least homosexual and erotic. Sometimes he suggests this rather strongly:¹³

I discovered many versions of the ceremony that were obviously the same-sex equivalent of a medieval heterosexual marriage ceremony (though not necessarily a precise equivalent of its modern descendants).

It seems inescapably clear ... that the meanings of the nouns to contemporaries were 'lover,' and 'form an erotic union.'

In many ways from a contemporary point of view, the most pressing question is whether the Christian ceremony of same-sex union functioned in the past as a "gay marriage ceremony." It is clear that it did, although, as has been demonstrated at length, the nature and purposes of every sort of marriage have varied widely over time. In almost every age and place the ceremony fulfilled what most people today regard as the essence of marriage: a permanent romantic commitment between two people.

Many—probably most earlier—Western societies institutionalized some form of romantic same-sex union.

⁹"O pobratimstve i posestrimste (Ocherk iz obychnogo prava Bolgar)" *Zhivaja Starina* 2,3 (1892) 31-42, at 38.

¹⁰Chicago, 1980.

¹¹Venice, 1730.

¹²New York, 1994.

¹³*Ibid.* x, 19, 280-1, and 282, respectively.

The term "same-sex union" in the title is his translation of the Greek ἀδελφοποίησις despite the fact that the relationship may be between man and woman. He chooses this over what he calls the "anachronistically literal" "brother-making" on the grounds that it is "neutral and objective."¹⁴ But even his own remarks in various passages seem to acknowledge "what modern readers might expect from such a term."¹⁵

Boswell's evidence (as will be shown below) just cannot sustain this interpretation. (Was Panza of Udbinje proposing marriage to Ivan of Segna in the passage quoted above?) So, at other points in the book, Boswell distances himself from the identification:¹⁶

The question that will leap to the mind of a resident of the modern West about the same-sex liturgical unions ... is "were they homosexual?" The apparently urgent, morally paramount distinction suggested by this question—between all heterosexual acts and relationships and all homosexual acts and relationships—was largely unknown to the societies in which the unions first took place, making the question anachronistic and to some extent unanswerable (if not beside the point)....

... artificial brotherhood is not "homosexual" in the sense of carrying publicly recognized erotic overtones or implications. But public acknowledgment of erotic components of relationships is certainly not a reliable indication of what they might mean privately to the individuals involved.... A structural anthropologist might rightly point out that, institutionally speaking, such relationships are not erotic ... but an historian would want to say something much more nuanced, not only about any particular instance, but even about the category.

Was the ceremony "homosexual" in an erotic sense? This is hard to answer for societies without a comparable nomenclature or taxonomy.... Did it celebrate a relationship ... that was (or became) sexual? Probably, sometimes, but this is obviously a difficult question to answer about the past....

It is nearly impossible to formulate in a precise and generally acceptable way, what is meant by "marriage," either by modern speakers or in ancient

¹⁴ Ibid. 298.

¹⁵ Ibid. 271. Cf. "same-sex union in a deeper sense" and "as electrifying or counterintuitive as 'same-sex union'" on p. 271; "a possibility as disturbing and as socially unacceptable as a same-sex union" and "heterosexual marriage just as well as same-sex union" on p. 272. Similar passages occur on pp. 216, 270 and elsewhere.

¹⁶ Ibid. xxv, 273, 189, and 9, respectively. (The embedded quotation in the fourth passage is from Ellen Kandoian.)

texts. 'There can be no single answer to the question, what does marriage mean; each culture must seek its own answer.'

Whether these relationships are marriages depends, for Boswell, on whether one takes marriage to be an heir-producing and property-transmitting relationship (the understanding Boswell attributes to the Greeks and Romans) or as a presumably sexual, but definitely affective, relationship (the modern understanding, according to Boswell). If marriage is taken in the former sense, then these may not really be marriages; if it is taken in the latter sense, then, he says, they are.

No doubt, if pushed, he would say that it does not really matter whether ἀδελφοποίησις is a marriage on any particular conception of the term. It would be sufficient if he could show that the Church once knowingly (if not intentionally) sanctioned erotic, homosexual relationships. Given the Church approval that these rites have sometimes had, evidence that these relationships were by nature, or generally accepted use, homosexual and erotic would be evidence that the Orthodox and Catholic Churches once approved of homosexual relationships. And, despite these cautionary notes, the tenor of the book makes clear that Boswell believes that he is onto something big. Does Boswell indeed, as he lets his copywriter say, offer "irrefutable demonstration that same-sex relationships have been sanctioned and even idealized in Western societies for over two thousand years"?

Since the book's thesis runs so contrary to received views on the subject, Boswell devotes his first three chapters to preparing the reader to accept his interpretation of these relationships. His first chapter is devoted to the vocabulary of love and marriage. He insists that we must not be misled by pseudo-literal translations of key terms. The second preparatory point is an attempt to get the reader to look differently at the institution of marriage, particularly in the Greco-Roman world. There, he says, it was merely an heir-producing and property-transmitting institution. Relationships based on personal affection were found, not in marriages, but in "same-sex unions," which were homosexual in the erotic sense.

That done, Boswell turns (in chapters 4-6) to a discussion of Christianity and its rituals, particularly nuptial offices. This discussion includes an attempt to identify certain pairs of saints (Saints Perpetua and Felicitas, Polyuctos and Nearchos, and Sergios and Bacchos) as being homosexual couples, though without any evidence that the relationship was based on the rite of ἀδελφοποίησις. It culminates in a chapter-long comparison of the rite of ἀδελφοποίησις and that of Christian marriage (or, as he puts it, "same-sex and heterosexual ceremonies of union").

The final chapters (7-9) are devoted to a discussion of ἀδελφοποίησις both in medieval and modern Europe. The medieval evidence is primarily biographical; the modern, primarily anthropological. Although most of the discussion is centered on the Balkans, Boswell also discusses some documents which, he believes, present evidence of the practice in other parts of Europe.

Boswell cites an immense number of sources in a wide variety of languages. To his credit, he generally quotes his sources in the original language, as well as providing a translation. Nevertheless, the work has many serious defects. Boswell often misquotes or mistranslates his sources. He takes passages out of context and omits to mention evidence (from the very works he cites) that casts his thesis into doubt. Finally, his inferences are often unwarranted even when the evidence is correct. These problems are not isolated but are so widespread as thoroughly to undermine Boswell's thesis. These charges will be substantiated in the paragraphs that follow.

Boswell's problems begin in the opening chapter, where he proposes to help the reader understand "The Vocabulary of Love and Marriage" in the texts and cultures he will be discussing.

One claim of importance to Boswell is that the Greek term "ἀδελφός" and the Slavic "*pobratim*" could easily have an erotic connotation. He begins by claiming that it is not uncommon for homosexuals to use "brother" with an erotic meaning in English.¹⁷ His examples are unconvincing, but even if he were right, evidence of how homosexuals use the word "brother" in English is not very good evidence for how non-homosexuals use "ἀδελφός" and "*brat*" in Greek, Serbian, and Russian. His evidence from Greek and Russian usage is even weaker.

For Greek there is only one piece of evidence, the use of the word "brother" in the *Song of Solomon* and in *Tobit*, though in the footnote Boswell admits that the *Song of Solomon* contains not the word "ἀδελφός" but rather "ἀδελφιδ-" literally, "niece or nephew."

For the Slavic languages, he offers two pieces of evidence. First, "*brat*" is used as a term of endearment in *Tobit* (translating the Greek). Second, at the end of a rambling footnote on various irrelevant meanings of the Russian prefix "po-" he hits upon the word "*podruga*" ("(female) friend") in which, he says, the prefix connotes degree of affection. This lead him to claim that Old Church Slavonic "*pobrat*" (and Slavic cognates) has erotic connotations. Even if the prefix in the term "*podruga*" connoted affection, the step from affection to eroticism is surely unwarranted. In fact, how-

¹⁷ Ibid. 17-18.

ever, the term has no such connotations. The modern *pobratim* does not have the meaning Boswell attributes to it.¹⁸ Nevertheless, Boswell does not hesitate to correct an Italian witness to a ceremony of ἀδελφοποίησις for saying that the Croatian words “*pobratimi*” and “*posestrime*” mean “more or less ‘half-brothers’ or ‘half-sisters’”¹⁹ or to claim that Suleiman I had a “same-sex partner” when his source only says “*pobrat*.”²⁰ Boswell makes no mention of Serbo-Croatian words like *poochim*, *pomajka*, and *posinak* (foster father, mother, and son, respectively), which put the original pair of words in their proper context.

Boswell is extremely critical of earlier attempts to translate “ἀδελφοποίησις”:

Goar labeled the ceremony he published “Office for spiritual brotherhood.” Since the word for “spiritual” does not occur in a single manuscript title for the ceremony, one must wonder what inspired him to do so.²¹

This is a bit disingenuous, since the term “spiritual brother” does occur in passages quoted by Goar in his notes on the ceremony.²² Elsewhere Boswell translates the Old Church Slavonic “*dukhovnoe bratstvo*” as “same-sex union.”²³ Boswell is right to point out that the Greek equivalent, “πνευματικός ἀδελφός,” also means a collateral relationship established through baptism,²⁴ but the term is a broad one. It includes both kinds of artificial kinship. These sometimes led to confusion, as is evidenced by the following passage from K. M. Rhalle’s article “Περί ἀδελφοποιίας”:²⁵

Justinian was not exactly the “made brother” [ἀδελφοποιητός] of Theodoric, the king of the Ostrogoths, since their relationship was not one of ἀδελφοποίησις, but a spiritual kinship from baptism.

¹⁸ See, for example, Marcus Wheeler, *Oxford Russian Dictionary* (Oxford, 1972): “sworn brother”; A. I. Smiritsky, *Russian-English Dictionary* (New York, 1959): “adopted brother”; Morton Benson, *Serbo-Croatian-English Dictionary* (Belgrade, 1971): “blood (adopted) brother.”

¹⁹ Ibid. 266.

²⁰ Ibid. 267.

²¹ Ibid. 26. See also, 209 and 267.

²² Goar, p. 709.

²³ Ibid. 250, n. 157; see also, 232, n. 64, and 251, n. 161, where that and the Greek phrase “πνευματικός ἀδελφός,” are found in the manuscripts, but Boswell takes the referent to be the relationship he is discussing.

²⁴ Ibid. 193.

²⁵ Ἐπιστημονική Ἐπετηρίς 3 (Athens, 1906-7) 293-306, p. 294. See also, R. J. Macrides, “Spiritual Relationship,” in Alexander Kachdan, ed., *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford, 1991), 1938.

Further, since the word "union" does not occur in a single manuscript title either, can we not wonder also about Boswell's willingness to use that term? He is surely right that "prayer for brotherhood" would be misleading.²⁶ It would also be unnecessarily non-literal. "Prayer for Brotherhood-making" or "for Fratrification" would have been fine. Or, if those are insufficiently euphonious, he would have done better to leave the term in Greek, the usual response to a foreign word for which no English equivalent is suitable.

He rightly points out²⁷ that Greek "φιλία" and "ἔρως" are generally interchangeable, but he reads erotic content into the φιλία between saints²⁸ and denies it with respect to the φιλία between husband and wife.²⁹ He is also willing to let the old distinction between "φιλία" and "ἔρως" work for him in a discussion of Harmodios and Aristogiton.³⁰ About "χάρις", he says "in secular Greek this had been related to sexual favors,"³¹ which, while not false, is misleading since that is not the term's primary meaning.

Boswell's account of marriage and ἀδελφοποίησις in the Greco-Roman world is supposed to show that what he calls "heterosexual marriage" was "almost entirely a dynastic and property arrangement having to do with descendants and inheritance, with virtually no relation to the sort of emotional ties that inspired same-sex unions."³² Romance was to be found elsewhere. Readers would be well advised to contrast his account with those offered by Susan Treggiari and Suzanne Dixon,³³ both of whom Boswell cites, but whose account of Greco-Roman marriage differs significantly from his, as can be seen from the following passage:³⁴

The emphasis on the material aspects in ... ancient accounts sometimes seems very prominent to the modern reader used to the modern concentration on the sentimental role of the family. It seems clear, however, from the inscriptions and the literary sources that the family was also a focus of emotional satisfaction for Romans.

²⁶ Ibid. 22.

²⁷ Ibid. 5-7, 78.

²⁸ Ibid. 142-3.

²⁹ Ibid. 34.

³⁰ Ibid. 78, n. 122.

³¹ Ibid. 6.

³² Ibid. 83.

³³ Treggiari, *Roman Marriage: Iusti Coniuges from the Time of Cicero to the Time of Ulpian* (Oxford, 1991); Dixon, *The Roman Family* (Baltimore, 1992).

³⁴ Dixon, 28-29.

The careful reader will see the problems in Boswell's treatment without appeal to an alternative account. Boswell cites as evidence for his view of ancient marriage a prosecution speech by Demosthenes and the comments of a comic character in Plautos.³⁵ But Boswell has misinterpreted Demosthenes' remark that "we have courtesans for pleasure, concubines to attend our daily bodily needs, and wives to bear children legitimately and to be faithful wards of our homes." As W. K. Lacey writes:³⁶

It [the passage in question] does not state that we cannot have either pleasure or care of our persons from our wives—quite the reverse; the services to a man of the three classes of woman are intended cumulatively, and it is the purpose of the argument merely to stress that you can beget legitimate children only from a properly married wife.

That is precisely the point Demosthenes needs to make in the case he is prosecuting. Plautos' Archie Bunker character (who says his love life is none of his wife's business) is surely designed to draw a laugh, not to portray the Roman ideal of a marriage. In neither case does Boswell even mention the real nature of the texts he is citing.

Boswell cites Martial³⁷ in support of his claim that, in Roman families, even a father's own children were lawful sexual prey. But the context of the passage ("Screw your son if you wish; it is not wrong") is in fact a taunt to a cuckold—abusing the boy wouldn't be wrong (i.e., incestuous) because none of the children are really his! Again, it's hardly evidence of what the Romans thought permissible in family life.

He suggests³⁸ that divorce was frequent in Classical Rome, since long-lasting marriage, according to a source, was rare. But his source (quoted in the footnote, but only in Latin) says that this is due not to divorce but to death.

His account of same-sex relationships in the Greco-Roman world concentrates on two kinds of same-sex relationship, non-institutionalized and institutionalized. As evidence of the former, he cites numerous examples of male friendships from Greek history and literature. As examples of the latter, he cites incidents from the lives of the Emperors Nero and Elagabalus and the critique of Roman decadence found in Juvenal.

³⁵ Ibid. 28 and 37, respectively.

³⁶ See W. K. Lacey, *The Family in Classical Greece* (Ithaca, 1968), 113. See also Treggiari, 200.

³⁷ Ibid. 40.

³⁸ Ibid. 32.

Greek culture unquestionably included both widespread (though not universal) tolerance of homosexual activities and formalization of same-sex friendships (or artificial kinship). Whether Boswell is right about the presence of erotic interest in the nonformalized relationships he mentions thus does not matter. To the extent that ancient Greek customs are relevant to the question of what Christians later did in ἀδελφοποίησις, it is to the formalized relationships that we should turn. Gabriel Herman's discussion of ξενία—ritualized friendships with citizens of other towns—in his *Ritualised Friendship and the Greek City*,³⁹ which Boswell neglects to mention, shows the extent to which relationships between unrelated men might be established for mutual benefit in ways that have nothing to do with sexuality. It is such relationships, not marriages and not erotic homosexual friendships, that the contemporary reader should keep in mind when attempting to understand ἀδελφοποίησις.

The Roman incidents of and satirical references to men marrying men, by contrast, provide evidence for nothing more than the attempts by libertines to outrage conventional sensibilities. The activities of the likes of Nero and Elagabalus hardly put homosexual marriage in the favorable light Boswell intends for it.

As a separate piece of evidence, Boswell points to a rescript from the Julian law on adultery.⁴⁰ The law reads, "Cum vir nubuit in feminam viris porrecturam, quid cupiat ...," which Boswell translates, "When a man marries [a man] as if he were a woman, what can he be seeking, where gender loses its place, etc." This law, he says, prohibited these marriages in the fourth century. Other commentators on the law reject Boswell's interpretation.⁴¹ The meaning of the passage is not, despite Boswell, "perfectly clear." Gustav Haenel's critical edition⁴² lists eight suggestions from various commentators about how the passage might originally have read. (Contrary to Boswell's claim, no manuscripts insert the word "man.") Although Boswell's translation is reasonable, Danilo Dalla gives good reasons to reject Boswell's literal interpretation of the word "marries"⁴³ in favor of

³⁹ Cambridge, 1987.

⁴⁰ *Theodosian Code* 9.7.3; Boswell, pp. 85-87.

⁴¹ Danilo Dalla, "*Ubi Venus Mutatur*": *Omosessualità e diritto nel mondo romano* (Milan: Giuffrè, 1987) and Derrick Sherwin Bailey, *Homosexuality and the Western Christian Tradition* (Hamden, CT, 1975). Boswell discussed this law in *Christianity ...*, 123-4.

⁴² Gustav Haenel, *Codex Theodosianus* (Bonn: A. Marcus, 1842), cc. 842-3.

⁴³ Dalla, 63 and 169-70. *Per* Boswell, Dalla does generally date the rescript correctly (see, for example, p. 167), though he does put the wrong date on p. 62.

an interpretation according to which the rescript criminalizes not homosexual marriages, but homosexual activity.

Even if Boswell is right, a formal prohibition does not necessarily indicate an earlier acceptance of the practice; it may just be an indication of increasing abuse. If, as Boswell maintains, Roman marriage is primarily about producing heirs, it is not clear why homosexual couples would find marriage ceremonies at all relevant to their needs.

Boswell says that, in the wake of this law, homosexual use of the marriage ceremony passed out of use, but there was a countervailing "rise and dissemination of other forms of the same-sex union."⁴⁴ These will be the link with the medieval practice of ἀδελφοποίησις and thus support for his claim that the Church once blessed these relationships.

Of the three types of relationship known in some detail, the first is the practice of lover abduction which Strabo describes as occurring (or having occurred) in Crete. As Boswell acknowledges, it is not clear whether this practice was a fourth century B.C. or a first century A.D. custom. No evidence of any dissemination of this practice is given.

The second practice, from Lucian's account of Scythian ways, is very much like ἀδελφοποίησις, but there is no evidence that it has an erotic component.

The third practice cited is *adoptio in fratrem*. The relationship between this and ἀδελφοποίησις is unclear. Boswell reviews the argument, but concludes that "it is impossible to know whether it [ἀδελφοποίησις] represents the Christianization of an ancient same-sex rite."⁴⁵ In any case, Boswell presents no evidence that *adoptio in fratrem* has an erotic component. The most he does is to say a few words about why the institution might not be a matter of commerce or heir-appointment, and then say that he cannot think of any other reason why anyone would want to enter into such a relationship.⁴⁶

Having laid these foundations for his new view of ἀδελφοποίησις, Boswell turns to a discussion of Christianity. Unfortunately for Boswell's thesis, there is no evidence of early Christian use of ἀδελφοποίησις. Boswell has to make do with analyses of same-sex friendships, to which the last half of chapter 4 ("The Views of the New Religion") is devoted.

Boswell's first case is that of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas, but the evidence for there being an erotic aspect to their relationship is nil. The most

⁴⁴Ibid. 87.

⁴⁵Ibid. 218.

⁴⁶Ibid. 101-2; 227.

Boswell can muster is the fact that Saint Perpetua's husband is not mentioned and this incredible *non sequitur*: "The paired femaleness of the two martyrs seems to be what appealed most to Christians" and "interest in paired females might be pornographic; most modern depiction of lesbianism ... is aimed at the prurience of heterosexual males"!⁴⁷

The evidence for Saints Polyeuctos and Nearchos is based almost entirely on tendentious translations. One biographer calls the pair "ἀδελφοί μὲν, οὐ κατὰ γένος, ἀλλὰ κατὰ προαίρεσιν ἔτυγχον." Boswell renders this "brothers, not by birth, but by affection,"⁴⁸ though "by choice" would have been more faithful to the Greek. Another biographer uses the phrase "ἐκ τῆς κατὰ πόθον ἀκριβοῦς ὁμονοίας συνήρμοσθαι αὐτῶν τὰς ψυχάς," which Boswell translates "from which passionate union their souls were bound together."⁴⁹ Again, the translation is tendentious. More accurate would be "from a perfect harmony based on deep desire...." Finally, Boswell renders Polyeuctos' comment about "τὰ μὲν σωματικά τῆς φιλίας ἡμῶν" as "the bodily part of our love." That choice of words unjustifiably suggests things that the at least equally good "the bodily [i.e., this-worldly] part of our friendship" does not. Even if Boswell's translations were exactly right, he hardly has evidence for an erotic, homosexual relationship. For what it's worth, Saint Polyeuctos, as Boswell admits, had a wife.⁵⁰

Third is the case of Saints Sergei and Bacchos. Establishing that this was an erotic, homosexual relationship would be particularly helpful to Boswell's thesis, since the pair is commonly mentioned in prayers at ἀδελφοποίησις. There is, however, no evidence that the relationship had such a character. Boswell cites the fact that they are called "brothers" (though they are not biological brothers), which term, he says, has "distinctly erotic connotations."⁵¹ He goes on to point out that the phrase "their household servants" shows that it is *possible* that they maintained a single household. Finally, he sees in the now deceased Bacchos' statement to Sergios (in a vision) that "σὺν σοὶ γὰρ ἀπόκειται μοι ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης στέφανος" (which he translates, "For the crown of justice for me is to be with you") a "privileging [of] human affection in a way unparalleled during the first thousand years of Christianity."⁵² The passage allegedly shows

⁴⁷ Ibid. 140, n. 140.

⁴⁸ Ibid. 141.

⁴⁹ Ibid. 141-142.

⁵⁰ Ibid. 145.

⁵¹ Ibid. 151. See the discussion of Boswell on this word, above.

⁵² Ibid. 151.

that Sergios' eternal reward will be "not the beatific vision,... but Bacchus himself." In fact, the passage says, "The crown of righteousness is in store for you as it is for me." Worse is his translation of the preceding line—"σπεῦσον οὖν καὶ αὐτός, ἀδελφέ, διὰ τῆς καλῆς καὶ τελείας ὁμολογίας καταξιῶσαι καὶ καταλαβεῖν με, τὸν δρόμον τελέσας." Boswell has "Hurry then, yourself, brother, through beautiful and perfect confession to pursue and obtain me, when you have finished the course."⁵³ The proper translation is, "Hurry then and yourself, brother, by a beautiful and perfect profession [i.e., martyrdom] to be made worthy to follow after and catch up to me, when you have finished the course."

All this is intended to show that the same-sex friendships that can be found in hagiographical writings sometimes had an erotic component, though they in fact show no such thing.

Boswell's next chapter is an attempt to reinforce his claim about homosexuality in the Church by showing striking similarities between the prayers for ἀδελφοποίησις, which can be found in manuscripts dating back to the eighth century, and Christian marriage ceremonies.

The first argument is from the similarities between the prayers and offices for the two rites. The similarities he alleges include both wording and action. The similarities in wording are supposed to be "easily detected"⁵⁴ in the documents published in the appendix. Boswell in particular mentions that the litanies used in the rite of ἀδελφοποίησις⁵⁵ are like those used in a marriage litany he does not reprint.⁵⁶ He also mentions the words "unashamed fidelity" and "without offense or scandal" as points of similarity. That's the whole of the defense from similar wording!

Similarities of action include the joining of right hands, binding of the hands, crowning, circling the altar, and the occasional use of cross and sword.

Though he says the binding occurs in four of his offices for ἀδελφοποίησις,⁵⁷ it only occurs in one. He seems to assert that this is equivalent to the use of a veil⁵⁸ but offers no evidence.

For the use of crowns (an important symbol of marriage in Greek weddings even today) he offers two pieces of evidence.

⁵³ Boswell at p. 150. Original in *Analecta Bollandiana* 14 (1895) 373-395, at 389.

⁵⁴ Ibid. 204.

⁵⁵ In translations 4, 6, 9-11, and 13.

⁵⁶ The litany appears in Gaetano Passarelli, *L'Euchologio Cryptense, Γ.β. VII (Sec. X) Ἀνάλεκτα Βλατάδων* 36 (Thessalonika, 1982).

⁵⁷ Translations 3, 4, and 14; 206.

⁵⁸ Ibid. 206-207, 217.

The first is the mention of crowns in a canon of marriage occurring immediately after two prayers for ἀδελφοποίησις in one of the manuscripts Boswell examined. This canon, which is separated by a line from the *adelphopoietic* rites which precede it, is labeled “Ecclesiastical Canon of Marriage of the Patriarch Methodius.” Boswell says he can ignore the line. In commenting on the English translation he says “it is not really possible that this prayer should constitute part of an office different from what precedes,”⁵⁹ but his argument is, at best, opaque. In his comment on the Greek transcription elsewhere in his book, he says it *is* possible but that the prayers might still be related.⁶⁰ He does not explain why the title “Ecclesiastical Canon of Marriage of the Patriarch Methodius” should occur in the middle of an office or, even more surprisingly, between the rubric and the prayer. Nor does he explain two other curious discrepancies between the English translation and the Greek transcription of the document. These can best be seen by comparing the following.

English:⁶¹

iv.

Another Prayer for Same-Sex Union

O Lord Our God ...

v.

[rubric], and conclude:

Ecclesiastical Canon of Marriage ...

O Lord our God ...

vi.

[rubric] and dismiss them.

Greek:⁶²

iv.

Εὐχή ἑτέρα εἰς ἀδελφοποίησιν

Κύριε ὁ Θεός...

[rubric] καὶ ἀπολύεται

v.

Κανὼν ἐκκλησιαστικός ἐπὶ γάμου, ποῖημα Μεθοδίου
Πατριάρχου

Κύριε ὁ Θεός...

vi.

[rubric] καὶ ἀπολύει αὐτούς.

⁵⁹ Ibid. 296.

⁶⁰ Ibid. 347.

⁶¹ Ibid. 296-7.

⁶² Ibid. 346-7.

The discrepancies are in the punctuation after the first rubric and in the placement of the section number. The English has the section number before the rubric and a colon after it, reinforcing Boswell's claim that the rubric, which seems clearly connected to the preceding *adelphopoietic* prayer leads into the marriage canon, with its mention of crowns. The Greek, by contrast, and somewhat inconsistent with Boswell's claims, puts the number after the rubric, which it concludes with a period. Thus, in three ways, the case for the marriage prayer and its crown being attached to the *adelphopoietic* rite will look stronger to those who rely on the English than to those who look at the Greek.

Boswell's second piece of evidence for the presence of crowns depends on a serious mistranslation. He claims that a Byzantine canonist "specifically associat[es] crowns with the ceremony."⁶³ He summarizes the passage as follows: "Monks must also not select boys at baptism and make same-sex unions with them." What the passage actually says is something completely different: "Ἀνάδεκτον, φησί μοναχόν δέχεσθαι παιδιά ἀπό τοῦ ἁγίου βαπτίσματος, καί κρατεῖν στεφάνους γάμων, καί ἀδελφοποιῖας ποιεῖν." ("Monks are forbidden from sponsoring children at baptism, serving as the best man at a wedding [lit., placing the marriage crown, which was the responsibility of the best man, as Boswell mentions at the top of the same page], or taking part [as a principal] in a rite of ἀδελφοποίησις")! Boswell would have avoided this confusion had he paid more attention to Goar, who adds parenthetically "as a best man does" (παράνυμφοι) when he quotes this canon. Boswell, who mistranslates παράνυμφος as "bridegroom" scolds Goar for "inventing and inserting" these words "as if this made some sense of the statement."⁶⁴

Boswell goes on to point out that both marriages and *adelphopoietic* rites are followed by banquets, which surely does nothing even to suggest that they are equivalent.⁶⁵

The two rites also have in common the joining of right hands, he points out. He claims that this is a significant similarity, although he acknowledges that "the gesture was used in other contexts."⁶⁶ In particular, he says, it was an "ancient Roman gesture for formalizing contracts" and was "associated in Roman sculpture with the 'cardinal virtues'."⁶⁷ Why should the use of such a sign at a rite of ἀδελφοποίησις make us believe that such a rite was really a marriage?

⁶³ Ibid. 209.

⁶⁴ Ibid. 209, n. 62.

⁶⁵ Ibid. 209-210.

⁶⁶ Ibid. 212.

⁶⁷ Ibid. 212-213.

"As might be expected," Boswell continues, "ceremonies of same-sex union were not precisely the same in all particulars as those celebrating heterosexual marriages."⁶⁸ There were no rings and the readings were different. Boswell points out that rings are not essential. What he forgot to include is a very important dissimilarity that he mentioned elsewhere but whose significance he completely overlooked:

Most of the latter [sc. heterosexual ceremonies] specifically invoke "chastity"... By contrast, "chastity" itself is never mentioned or appealed to in same-sex ceremonies.⁶⁹

Boswell does not ask why chastity is not invoked in such ceremonies. The answer is obvious—ἀδελφοποίησις simply had nothing to do with sex. Mention of chastity would have had no more place here than it would, say, in a modern employment contract.

Some similarities between the rites are to be expected. They are both religious rites of the Christian religion. They both create kinship relations. Those similarities are entirely sufficient to account for the similarities that do exist between the rites. There is nothing in the form of the rite to support Boswell's claim that ἀδελφοποίησις is a kind of marriage.

Boswell also argues for the marital character of ἀδελφοποίησις on the basis of its placement in prayer books: "About 30 percent of the manuscripts consulted for this study have heterosexual marriage either immediately before or immediately after the same-sex union ceremony, roughly twice as often as the next most common adjacent ceremonies."⁷⁰ The number is not impressive, since the ceremonies are in any case related—both make artificial kin. Boswell tries to bolster his case by comparing the next most common adjacent ceremony, cutting a boy's hair, to hair-cutting of a bride, which is "associated with heterosexual marriage in many cultures—even in many Greek cities."⁷¹ He neglects to mention what he must know, since it is discussed in sources he cites elsewhere, namely that in the Balkans a boy's first haircut is one of three occasions in which a spiritual relationship is established with a *kum* (loosely, godfather).⁷² *Kumstvo* and *pobratimstvo* are closely related; this is why the ceremonies are sometimes adjacent in prayerbooks.

⁶⁸ Ibid. 215.

⁶⁹ Ibid. 206.

⁷⁰ Ibid. 187.

⁷¹ Ibid. 187, n. 132.

⁷² Dinko Tomasic, *Personality and Culture in East European Politics* (New York:, 1948) 79-80. The other two times at which such a relationship is established is at birth and at

Boswell fares no better when he returns to case studies in chapter 7 ("The History of Same-Sex Unions in Medieval Europe"). Unlike chapter 5, this chapter does take up cases that are clearly ἀδελφοποιήσις. But the most he is able to show is that one of the participants in one of these relationships was sometimes willing to engage in homosexual activities. Even here, there is no evidence that the homosexuality occurred within the relationship created by ἀδελφοποιήσις.

His first case is St. Theodore of Sykeon, of whom he himself says "it is hardly credible that such an energetically ascetic man would enter into *any* sort of carnal relationship."⁷³ Patriarch Thomas (of Constantinople) persuaded St. Theodore to become his brother⁷⁴ and asked God that he [Thomas] might be with him in the next life. Thomas, of course, knows Theodore will get to heaven and is only praying that he will get there too. He surely is not praying for God to damn him too, should Theodore become a great sinner. Boswell on that basis alone concludes, "it is nonetheless possible that the union was based on passionate feelings."⁷⁵

Boswell's second case is Emperor Basil I. Boswell presents evidence (accepted by other biographers) that Basil was willing to engage in homosexual actions when it was in his interest to do so, as it was when he was appointed "companion of the bedchamber" to Emperor Michael.⁷⁶ He was engaged in one, or perhaps two, solemnized friendships. Some biographers report that he made an ἀδελφοποίησις with a man named Nicholas. Boswell claims that neither man could have any reason other than personal affection for entering the relationship. Even if that were true, it is erotic interest, not personal affection, that he has to find. They are hardly the same. But Boswell goes on to admit that Nicholas had had a dream about Basil's future greatness. Although Basil had biological brothers who sometimes helped him, Nicholas came to his aid when he was sleeping in the streets.⁷⁷ Each did have a nonpersonal interest in the relationship, though

marriage [with the best man]. See also Milovan Gavazzi, "Das Kulturerbe der Südslaven in Licht der Völkerkunde," *Die Welt der Slaven: Vierteljahresschrift für Slavistik I* (1956) 63-81, at 71-2. Both works are cited by Boswell to make another point (277 and 265 respectively).

⁷³ Ibid. 230.

⁷⁴ Here, as so often, Boswell's translation is tendentious. For "πολλήν σκέσιν καὶ πληροφορίαν ἔχων εἰς αὐτόν" he puts "he was so attached to him and had such confidence in him" (p. 230). Better would have been "He became very close to him and had such confidence in him...."

⁷⁵ Ibid. 230.

⁷⁶ Ibid. 237-238.

⁷⁷ Ibid. 233-234.

that does not of course say anything about their feelings about one another. There is no evidence of any erotic aspect to their relationship. Other biographers, while mentioning the friendship with Nicholas, do not say that there was any solemnized friendship between them. Those biographers do cite another friendship, with a man named John, as having been solemnized. Boswell claims that this second relationship included homosexual activity on the basis of the following passage: "τῆς πρὸς αὐτόν παρρησίας μετέδωκε διὰ τὴν φθάσασαν κοινωνίαν τῆς πνευματικῆς ἀδελφότητος." Boswell translates this "granted him intimacy with him on account of their earlier shared life in ceremonial union"⁷⁸ and adds in the footnotes that "κοινωνία" can also mean "sexual intercourse." It can, but given that "πνευματικῆς ἀδελφότητος" could better be translated "relationship as spiritual brothers," that meaning seems particularly unlikely. Boswell is suggesting what he dare not say, namely that "κοινωνία" has this meaning here. Although the term "intimacy" may come close to the meaning of "παρρησία," we have yet to find it in any dictionary. "Intimacy" has connotations which παρρησία lacks. What John was granted was a kind of freedom to speak his mind.⁷⁹ Basil may have been willing to commit homosexual acts, but he was also married. Boswell presents no reason to believe that either of Basil's relations of spiritual brotherhood were erotic, homosexual ones. Even if they were, the behavior of a man like Basil can provide no evidence of what the Church intended such a relationship to be.

Next come a few miscellaneous Slavic instances of ἀδελφοποίησις, none of which show any real sign of the relationship having an erotic character. In several cases, the participants like Basil, have wives as well as spiritual brothers.

The chapter concludes with four Western European documents which Boswell cites as providing some evidence of ἀδελφοποίησις in the West. ("[Their] ambiguity ... precludes categorizing them unequivocally as same-sex marital contracts, but it equally rules out pretending that they are simple business contracts," he says, neglecting the fact that ἀδελφοποίησις was in fact neither of these things.) Two of them (from Italy and Spain) are agreements between two clerics about joint tenancy of a parish rectory, with no mention of ἀδελφοποίησις. The other two (from Spain and Ireland) do provide evidence of a practice of adoptive brotherhood, but with no hint of any sexual interest.

⁷⁸ Ibid. 235.

⁷⁹ Παρρησία is also a kind of marriage, as Boswell documents in detail (235, n. 78), but the word cannot have that meaning here. After all, the relationship between Basil and John had been solemnized years before.

Boswell thinks he sees strong evidence that the report from Ireland does show a homosexual marriage and is indignant at an earlier translator for reading the report otherwise. The case is revealing of Boswell's limits as a reader and a translator. The report comes from Gerald of Wales, a Welsh monk whose *Topography of Ireland* includes a story about the Irish and their wicked ways. The story is entitled "De argumento nequitiae, et novo desponsationis genera." The term "desponsatio" has several meanings—it can mean an alliance or it can mean a betrothal or marriage. Boswell takes the latter reading, which he reinforces by mistranslating a key phrase—"conveniunt, cum eo quem oppetere copiunt"—as "they come together with the man they wish to join." But "oppetere" does not mean "join," it means "to have killed." (Replacing "oppetere" with "appetere," as Boswell gratuitously suggests in the footnote, still does not get the idea of "joining" into the text.) That murder is what is on someone's mind becomes clear in Gerald's final paragraph:⁸⁰

How often during the very act of this marriage [*desponsatio*] is blood shed by treacherous and violent men so iniquitously and unjustly that one or the other remains all but drained of blood! How often in that very incontinent hour does a bloody divorce either follow, precede, or even, in an unheard-of way, interrupt the marriage itself.

The iniquity of the Irish is not the novelty of men marrying men, it is a man promising to make peace with an enemy and then, sometimes during the very ceremony of ἀδελφοποίησις itself, ambushing and killing him.

Boswell's next chapter is called "Subsequent Developments: A Look Forward." In fact, it could be seen as a continuation of his history of ἀδελφοποίησις. The theme is, of course, the homosexual character of the practice. The problems he has handling his sources in this chapter, however, are as serious as ever.

Boswell's first piece of evidence is that "Montaigne seems to describe having seen it [sc., the ceremony of ἀδελφοποίησις] in Rome itself in 1578."⁸¹ In fact, Montaigne was not in Rome in 1578, as Boswell should have noticed as he copied the title of Montaigne's book—*Journal de Voyage en Italie par la Suisse et l'Allemagne en 1580 et 1581*—into his footnote. Boswell begins quoting Montaigne too late, for Montaigne explicitly says that he heard about, not saw, the event in question: "Je rancontrai au retour de Saint Pierre un home qui m'avisait plesamment de deus choses: ..." ⁸²

⁸⁰ Boswell's translation, 260.

⁸¹ Ibid. 264.

⁸² Librairie Hachette edition (1906) 248.

That does not, of course, mean that the event did not occur as Montaigne reported it. But there is no evidence that the ceremony in question was the rite of ἀδελφοποίησις. The fact that Montaigne said the participants entered into “une étrange confrérie” hardly proves that they used the rite in question. No matter what rite was used, Boswell’s claims that “Roman ecclesiastics realized perfectly well [that it] entailed legitimizing homosexuality” and that the event showed “the general equanimity of the church”⁸³ is completely unjustified. Montaigne was told that “esports romains” approved of the affair, but, one might ask, what experts and with what authority? And if the Church approved of the relationship, who burned those same homosexuals in the Papal States on August 2? Of course, as he says, it was the civic authorities, since the Church did not carry out capital sentences, but does he really think that the civic authorities could execute people for doing something that the Church permitted in a state in which the Pope was sovereign?

Boswell’s second piece of evidence is the testimony of Alberto Fortis, who observed such a ceremony—“*in a church*”—in Dalmatia in the eighteenth century.⁸⁴ This time Boswell does have a witness to an ἀδελφοποίησις, but without *any* evidence of homosexuality.

The third piece of evidence⁸⁵ comes from 19th-20th century ethnographic and travelers’ reports from the Balkans, which Ciszewski calls “the classical home [*Boden*] of artificial relationships in general and of elective brotherhood [*Wahlbrüderschaft*] in particular.”⁸⁶ Boswell says that here “the ceremony was still practiced and recognized with its original meaning.”⁸⁷ That is no doubt true, but he is not able to show that that original meaning is as a homosexual erotic friendship. Nor do the authorities he quotes see it that way, despite his suggestions to the contrary.⁸⁸ The most he is able to show is that the ceremony was sometimes used as such. To the extent that it was so used, however, it was banned by the Church.⁸⁹

The material that he does cite is often misleading or simply misunderstood by him.

⁸³ Ibid. 264-265. Boswell’s exceedingly low standard of evidence for equanimity is further evidenced on pp. 247-249.

⁸⁴ Ibid. 265-267.

⁸⁵ Ibid. 267-269.

⁸⁶ Ciszewski, p. 4.

⁸⁷ Ibid. 267.

⁸⁸ Ibid. 268, n. 27.

⁸⁹ Εὐαγγέλου Ματζουνέα, *Ἡ Ἀδελφοποίησις ἐκ Κανονικῆς Ἀπόψεως* (Athens, 1982). The practice was prohibited by the Greek Church in encyclicals dated 11 June 1859,

He claims that heterosexual couples sometimes used "the ceremony" in 15th century Romania because it had implications for property law different from that of "heterosexual marriage."⁹⁰ The suggestion is that if ἀδελφοποίησις is used by men and women to solemnize a marriage, its use by homosexual couples must be for the same purpose. In fact, "the ceremony" used by heterosexual couples was *înfratirea de mosie* (brothermaking of property), which Boswell's source⁹¹ carefully distinguishes from another kind of ἀδελφοποίησις, *înfratirea de cruce* (brothermaking of the cross). The latter is the analogue of the institution discussed by Boswell. *Înfratirea de mosie* was used not only by married couples (N.B.: not by couples looking for a more egalitarian way to get married), but by siblings and other close relatives. It is not a form of marriage.

He cites the German anthropologist Friederich Krauss' reference to the ceremony with the words "their wedding [*Trauung*] as one must [*darf*, so actually "may"] rightly call it"⁹² without mentioning the immediately preceding paragraph, in which Krauss describes how the Herzegovinian insurgent Luka Vukalovich and a large number of his followers *all* swore brotherhood with one another. Vukalovich and his men are surely not all becoming one another's marriage partners.

He appeals for support to Stanislaus Ciszewski's 1897 Leipzig doctoral dissertation on a number of points⁹³ but frequently misunderstands it. He quotes it as saying that the ceremony "is just like that for a marriage." The point of comparison, however, is only with respect to breaking the ritual into stages that began in March and ended on the Feast of St. John the Baptist. (It is the feast of this St. John, not the feast of St. John, "the beloved disciple," that is the most common date for swearing brotherhood.)⁹⁴

His description of a ceremony of ἀδελφοποίησις, which he gets from Nachov by way of Ciszewski, is preceded in Nachov by an introduction that hardly suggests a homosexual friendship:⁹⁵

26 September 1862, and 11 January 1863 (Στέφανος Πιαννόπουλος, *Συλλογή τῶν Ἐγκυκλίων τῆς Ἱερᾶς Συνόδου τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος* [Athens, 1901] 466-469).

⁹⁰ P. 267, n. 24.

⁹¹ G. Cront, *Înfratirea de mosie: Juratorii, Institutii medievale romanesti* (Bucharest, 1969). Boswell's other source, P. P. Panaitescu and Damaschin Mioc, *B. tara românească*, Vol. I (Bucharest, 1966) does nothing to advance Boswell's thesis.

⁹² Ibid. 268.

⁹³ Ibid. 268.

⁹⁴ Ciszewski, 53.

⁹⁵ Nachov, 61.

Two winters ago (1893), Marin Dunjuv of Stara-Zagora decided to get himself an "aratlik" (pobratim) from the village of Kurbetito ..., where Marin worked as a tailor and where he wanted to have relatives. After he had selected a pobratim, Marin told his wife to prepare a gift, and she sewed a shirt.

The ceremony cited as "reminding us of a marriage"⁹⁶ can only be celebrated between men who have no brothers (though they may have sisters). Why should this restriction apply if the relationship itself, and not just some features of the ceremony, were like a marriage? His translation of the passage from Ciszewski ends with this curious remark: "If one of them dies, the other inherits everything, including spouse and children." The original says, "Stirbt einer von den Wahlbrüdern, so sorgt der andere für Frau und Kinder desselben wie für seine eigenen,"—"... the other takes care of the deceased's wife and children as if they were his own."⁹⁷

Boswell says that "in some areas the partners legally designated each other as heirs and promised to leave no other descendants,"⁹⁸ though Ciszewski says "provided that [*wofern*] they have no legitimate heirs."

Boswell draws next on the work of P. Näcke, whom he describes as an early twentieth century German homosexual scholar, and who, he says "discussed [ἀδελφοποίησις] specifically in the context of homosexuality."⁹⁹ In fact, Näcke (quoted without translation) says only "Brotherly unions are ... probably not always only purely friendly, but surely also sometimes homosexually colored." Näcke is not reporting on work he has done in Albania. His article is the publication of and comment on a letter which he cannot date (he guesses it is from the 1880's) written by an otherwise unidentified "highly respected German scholar" who spent a few weeks in Albania.¹⁰⁰ There are two questions to be answered here. First, was homosexual activity common among Christian Albanians? Second, did such activity have anything to do with the Church-blessed practice of ἀδελφοποίησις? The unnamed scholar cannot say on the basis of personal experience. The Orthodox denied that homosexuality existed among *them*; the scholar did not know any Catholics. But he believes that homosexuality was practiced among these Christians on the basis of what he

⁹⁶ Ibid. 268, n. 28, on the basis of Ciszewski, 36.

⁹⁷ Boswell, 268; Ciszewski, 36. The mistranslation is very much in line with Boswell's idea of what Greco-Roman marriages were like (83).

⁹⁸ Ibid. 269.

⁹⁹ Ibid. 269. P. Näcke, "Über Homosexualität in Albanien," *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Homosexualität* 10 (1908) 313-337.

¹⁰⁰ Näcke, 328-9.

was told by unnamed Europeans resident in Albania. His evidence for the homosexual character of ἀδελφοποίησις is no stronger. Since Näcke does not believe that Platonic relationships are possible,¹⁰¹ he sees his unnamed scholar's evidence as sufficient.

Boswell also seriously misread two articles by Leopold Kretzenbacher, who observed a teenaged boy and girl enter into the relationship in 1966. Boswell says of Kretzenbacher:¹⁰²

[he] flatly contradicted himself about the nature of the union, stating first that the couple could under no circumstances become lovers, but in a later work admitting that the pair, after a ceremony he had acknowledged even in his first study was indistinguishable from a marriage, could indeed become lovers and could never take part in the same ceremony with anyone else as long as they lived.

In fact, Kretzenbacher explicitly says that the couple could not subsequently marry in the second article as well. In that article, he describes how the priest, who believes that the seventeen-year-old boy and girl who want to enter into the relationship are too young to commit themselves to such a responsibility, urges them to remain as just friends for now. If they do not go through with the ceremony:¹⁰³

they could live in a brotherly and sisterly way near and for one another. They could also, should nature later urge them to it, become lovers. But that they could never ... allow to happen once the oath had been taken before God and before him as a priest.

Kretzenbacher does not find the ceremony indistinguishable from a marriage. In fact, he says:¹⁰⁴

At first, we thought [the ceremony we were about to observe] was a church-blessed betrothal ... But the very first Serbian words of the priest ... showed me that we were witnesses to the not altogether common rite of *pobratimstvo*.

Equally serious is Boswell's failure to cite or discuss certain aspects of Balkan practice that are highly damaging to his thesis. The varieties of ἀδελφοποίησις mentioned in the opening paragraphs of this review—involuntary ἀδελφοποίησις, temporary ἀδελφοποίησις, and ἀδελφο—

¹⁰¹Näcke, 330-1.

¹⁰²Ibid. 275.

¹⁰³Kretzenbacher, *Rituelle Wahlverbrüderung in Südosteuropa: Erlebniswirklichkeit und Erzählmotiv* (Munich, 1971) 4.

¹⁰⁴Kretzenbacher, "Gegenwartsformen" 168.

ποίησις among a number of individuals, etc.—figure prominently in the presentations of nearly all of Boswell's major sources (including Ciszewski, Rhalle, Durham, Bobchev, Nachov and others). Some of the passages he cites from these authors and presents to us as something like homosexual marriages are from descriptions of such varieties. But of all this, the reader gets only the most oblique hint.¹⁰⁵

Neither does he ever really confront the oddity of considering ἀδελφοποίησις to be a kind of marriage when so many of the participants have a wife.¹⁰⁶ He does not hide this fact, but he never answers this question—did the Church once permit people to have two spouses? (Perhaps this objection is anticipated by Boswell's observation that the prohibition of polygamy has never been divinely revealed.)¹⁰⁷

In conclusion, Boswell has done a thorough job in inspecting documents and studies relevant to his subject. His citations are careful. He cites authors who do not agree with his interpretation of ἀδελφοποίησις,¹⁰⁸ though he dismisses them all at a stroke—"the reader will quickly see that such authors have no wish to consider a possibility as disturbing and socially unacceptable as a same-sex union." He often includes the original texts of passages which he quotes. All that makes the work of evaluating his research much easier than it otherwise would have been.

Unfortunately for Boswell, when that evaluation is made, the thesis collapses. The translations are improbable; the evidence is inadequate. What appears at first to be an impressive piece of scholarship in fact does nothing to establish what Boswell hoped he could show. Boswell is right only about what others have always known, namely that ἀδελφοποίησις was and is practiced in the Balkans and that it was sometimes blessed by the Catholic and Orthodox Churches. He suggests, as have others, that it may sometimes have been entered into by homosexuals, but he is unable to show that the relationship was by nature erotic or anything like a marriage. Nor is he able to show that such use of the practice was ever approved by either Church. Consequently, the book does not show that either Church ever tolerated, much less blessed, erotic homosexual friendships.

¹⁰⁵ See 272-4.

¹⁰⁶ He mentions it briefly on 239 and 268. For a pagan precedent see 72.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.* xxi.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.* 271-2, n. 44.

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In Memoriam

Professor Savas Ioannis Savas 1923-1996

NICHOLAS M. KASTANAS

"Well done Faithful Servant, Enter Into the Joy of the Lord"

Like the peaceful and unpretentious life that he so cherished in the world, Professor Savas I. Savas fell asleep in the Lord quietly with his writing instrument in hand and his head on the hymns of praise that he so cherished.

Born of humble and devout parents in New Tyrins, Nafplion, Greece in 1923, Savas Savas was one of three children who displayed a great love for the Church and the Word of the Lord at a young age. Blessed with a strong melodic voice, he was raised at the cantor's analogion in Nafplion where the seeds of hymnody were sown and cultivated.

Following his formidable education, Savas received scholarships and studied at the School of Theology of the University of Athens and the famed Odeion Athenon, the Conservatory of Athens where he studied under Ioannis Margaziotis. Displaying special talents and well-advanced in Byzantine and Western music, Savas was invited to tutor at the Conservatory and chant with the Choir at the Cathedral of Athens.

Recognizing his special gifts, Savas was sent on scholarship by his mentors to Europe where he studied Musicology, Theology, Psychology, French and German at the Sorbonne in Paris and the University of Munich.

Returning to Greece in the early fifties, he married Anthoula Kryanis and they made their home in Kastella, Piraeus.

Professor Savas accepted teaching appointments at the Conservatory of Athens, instructing Byzantine Ecclesiastical Chant and the School of Theology of the University of Athens where he taught in the Department of Hymnology and Liturgical Theology. He also served as assistant to the Dean for some three years.

In 1955, with the blessing of the Archbishop of Greece, Savas accepted the invitation of noted Protopsalti Spyros Peristeris to chant as Lambatharios at the Cathedral of Athens. Visiting Greece in the summer of 1961, His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos came into contact with Savas Savas and extended the invitation to come to the United States and teach Byzantine Music to the candidates preparing for the Holy Priesthood at Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology in Brookline, MA.

In the twenty-five years of faithful service to the Church and to his beloved students and Seminary, Professor Savas taught Byzantine Music, Western Music, Hymnology, and Christian and Byzantine Archaeology. He published a number of books in the United States and in Greece, including his noteworthy instructional guide, *Byzantine Music; The Hymnology of the Greek Orthodox Church; Hymns of the Triodion*; and, *The Cross and Death*. Furthermore, he wrote numerous articles in a number of Greek language newspapers and periodicals. He established the Holy Cross-Hellenic College Choir "Romanos O Melodos" which toured the United States several times and recorded with his charges three albums/tapes and close to one hundred audio recordings of various services, hymns and songs.

Professor Savas authored hundreds of pages of unpublished liturgical and secular music, mostly Byzantine, but also Western. These manuscripts will be published in the near future. His prayerful dedication brought acknowledgment from the Ecumenical Patriarchate when he was awarded the title "Archon Didaskalos of the Apostles."

Savas retired from Holy Cross-Hellenic College to his home in Kastella, Piraeus, Greece in 1986. His wife Anthoula fell asleep in the Lord in 1989, and Savas continued to teach and chant at various parishes, monasteries and at the Patriarchate of Jerusalem. At the invitation of the Administration he returned to chant Holy Week Services at the Holy Cross Seminary Chapel following his retirement for four consecutive years.

Professor Savas' greatest love was his students: six hundred or so graduates of Holy Cross and Hellenic College who respect him as a *geronta* for his deep faith, compunction and devotion to the Church, our Lord, and especially the Theotokos.

As his successor, I am deeply moved by his passing. I am proud to have had him as my mentor.

May His Memory Be Eternal.

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Rosemary Radford Ruether (ed.), *Women Healing Earth*. Maryknoll NY: Orbis Books, 1996, 186 pages.

The name of Rosemary Radford Ruether has long been associated with pioneering theology in feminist and eco-feminist circles. This time, however, she is conveying the voices of third world women on ecology, feminism, and religion. In addressing the intertwining issues of ecology and economy, of class and race, of religion and liberation, this book offers profound insights from women involved in the struggles to overcome violence against women and nature, and to ensure ecological preservation and social justice. These questions are rooted in life and death matters, not in theory or statistics: impoverishment of the earth means poverty for people; pollution means children dying of dehydration; deforestation means walking further to gather wood. This theology of life is told in stories from Brazil, El Salvador, India, Philippines, and South Africa.

Here is a serious attempt at cross-cultural communication, as writers express their concern against oppression and their struggle for liberation. And religion is explored as the reinforcement of such domination, and as a resource for healing.

It is easy to dismiss ecological issues and to persist in our cozy lifestyles when the rape of nature is not closely connected to the rape of people, when the global crisis has no human face. Environmental issues assume another urgency when we know that over a billion people starve and die early from poisoned water, soil, and air. The contributors to this volume offer us different "images" of the world and present us with other dimensions of "identity" in relation to nature.

This book is a rude reminder and a crude awakening to renewed responsibility to one another and to the world around us.

So that God's Creation Might Live: The Orthodox Church Responds to the Ecological Crisis. N.p.: Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, 1992, 118 pages.

In November of 1991, the Ecumenical Patriarchate organized an "Inter-Orthodox Conference on Environmental Protection", held at the Orthodox Academy of Crete and drawing together delegates from the autocephalous and autonomous Orthodox Churches throughout the world, theologians from Orthodox faculties, clergy and monastics, Orthodox and other international bodies as well as observers from the Oriental Orthodox Churches, the Vatican, the Conference of European Churches and the World Baptist

Federation. The Conference was chaired by His Eminence Metropolitan John (Zizioulas) of Pergamon who has written a number of articles and delivered numerous papers on questions of the environment, being also responsible for the annual Ecological Seminar organized at Halki (Turkey) by the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

In 1989, Ecumenical Patriarch Dimitrios of Constantinople issued a message declaring September 1 of each year as a day of thanksgiving and special prayer for all creation. His successor, Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomeos, has increased the interest and concern of the Mother Church on such issues, especially through his contact and collaboration with Prince Philip, the Duke of Edinburgh and International President of the World Wide Fund for Nature.

Papers at this conference addressed environmental problems, theological approaches to humanity's relationship with its natural environment, and spiritual aspects of the problem, with particular reference to Scripture and to the Orthodox monastic liturgical, patristic, iconographic and architectural tradition. There was also a panel of speakers that examined economic, social and agricultural dimensions, while others explored particular effects on water, climate and flora. Specific environmental concerns in Romania and Crete were also addressed in individual papers.

This book is a loose collection of proceedings and papers from this historic conference, but it is held together by the unique significance and contribution that Orthodox theology and spirituality can bring to bear on the ecological crisis and the need for conservation.

The keynote address by Metropolitan John (pp. 19-28) is an important introduction to the question of protection of the environment from an Orthodox perspective. Metropolitan outlines the differences between Eastern and Western approaches, as well as the spiritual implications of the ecological problem.

Before then and since then, a number of books (written, among others, by Philip Sherrard) and articles (one author, among others, is Elizabeth Theokritoff) have appeared in the area of environmental protection. This is the case not only in publications in the English language but also in European languages. In Greece alone, for example, numerous books have been written by theologians such as Metropolitan John of Pergamon, Prof. Elias Economou of the Theological School at the University in Athens, Prof. A. Keselopoulos of the Theological School at the University of Thessalonika, various nuns and monks, such as Elisiaos Simonpétritis (with T. Papayannis of MedWet), and others. This is surely a welcome change and contribution to our planet's singularly critical issue.

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BOOK NOTES

Thomas F. Best and Dagmar Heller (eds.), *So we believe, so we pray: Towards koinonia in worship*. Faith and Order Paper No. 171. Geneva: WCC Publications, 1995. Pp. xiv+153

"Towards *koinonia* in worship" was the theme of a 1994 Faith and Order consultation. Published here are its report, presentations by Orthodox, Protestant and Roman Catholic participants, and outlines of services used during the consultation. Its importance lies in the recognition that theological questions cannot be considered in isolation from worship: worship with separated Christians can be either (or both) a revelation of underlying unity, or a painful manifestation of theological differences. The papers and report reveal a measure of agreement on the basics of the *lex orandi* which is the common heritage of all Christians; but much of the material concerns ecumenical services and will be of interest primarily to professional ecumenists.

The report's attention to the importance of symbolic forms and to non-verbal expressions of theology – evidently connected with a growing appreciation of icons – is to be welcomed. Encouragingly, the report commends to Faith and Order for further study some issues of immediate importance for ecumenical contacts even on the most informal level – such as the relation between theological positions and their expression in worship, and whether our presence at other Christians' worship is in some sense "sacramental".

Elizabeth Theokritoff

Alister E. McGrath (ed.), *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Modern Christian Thought*, Oxford–Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell, 1993 (paperback 1995). Pp. 701.

This single-volume book of reference first appeared in 1993 (hardback), but the present paperback edition was published in 1995. The editor is Research Lecturer in Theology at the University of Oxford, where he is also Principal of Wycliffe Hall.

The encyclopedia is an important resource, characterized by both lucidity and authority. It provides a comprehensive, and at the same time challenging guide for scholars and non-specialists alike. Readers will appreciate the substantial review essays dealing with the development of Christian thought from the Enlightenment to the present day. The survey

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ecclesial community, and a Christian identity which is conscious of its sharp distinctiveness. Guroian frequently cites Fr. Alexander Schmemmann and links the contemporary crisis of faith to "the privatization and disintegration of Christian worship." (p. 38) He also builds upon Will Herberg's analysis of America as a "triple melting pot" where "both the 'religionists' and the 'secularists' cherish the same basic values and organize their lives on the same fundamental assumptions." (pp 83-4) For example, in his discussion of "Family and Christian Virtue," Guroian states that American culture promotes thinking of the Christian family "as merely a church-going version of any of a number of comfortable and idealized sitcom families." (p. 135) His chapters on ecology and end of life ethics, while limited in their scope, offer fresh approaches which draw heavily from Byzantine and Armenian liturgical texts.

Ethics After Christendom would be worth studying for the sole reason that its author seeks to integrate the contemporary American and Eastern Orthodox ethical traditions. Yet it offers much more. Through his thoughtful analysis, Guroian engages and leads the reader to ponder some of the foremost issues which have arisen as Christians struggle for the soul of the church in a world after Christendom.

Perry Hamalis

The Cappadocians by Antony Meredith. Crestwood NY: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1995. Pp. xiv +129.

This attractive little book is not, as it claims, the only recent book in English devoted to the Cappadocian Fathers: until this book appeared, Jaroslav Pelikan had been able to make that claim for several years with the book of his recent Gifford Lectures, *Christianity and Classical Culture*, which was devoted to the great Cappadocians, amongst whom he included a 'Cappadocian mother', Saint Macrina, the elder sister of the brothers Basil and Gregory. But it is none the less welcome and treats the Cappadocian Fathers from a rather different perspective than that of Pelikan.

The first two chapters set the scene, introducing us to Cappadocia and the changes it underwent in the fourth century, as well as to the roots of Cappadocian theology in Plato and the great Alexandrian theologian, Origen. All this is done compellingly and economically,

by the hand of a master. The three Cappadocians are then treated *seriatim*. Their treatment seems a little unequal: Basil the Great is allotted twenty pages, Gregory the Theologian thirteen, and Gregory of Nyssa (who arguably had the least impact on tradition) fifty! In each case we have a little about their lives, and then an introduction to what is significant in their writings. For Basil this means monasticism and the Holy Spirit: oddly Fr. Meredith scarcely relates them, when it might be claimed that one of the distinctive features of Basil's monasticism is awareness of its charismatic dimension. But he sketches briefly the main characteristics of Basil's monasticism, though making more of its Neoplatonic associations than its probable links with the asceticism of Eustathius, later bishop of Sebaste. There is a good, succinct account of Basil on the Holy Spirit. On Gregory of Nazianzos, Meredith complains, rightly, of the dismissive attitude to this Gregory often found in discussions of the Cappadocians (he justly cites a particularly dismal example of this, perpetrated by the present reviewer): however, he hardly does any better himself, precluding himself the space in which to do so. In particular he has nothing at all to say about Gregory's poems, where his heart finds expression as much as his mind. But it is Gregory of Nyssa who is Meredith's favourite, and his chapter on the youngest of the Cappadocians must be far and away the best brief introduction in English to his thought. He discusses the influence Origen had on him, deeper than on the others, and the way in which Gregory's response to Eunomios, for the sake of his brother's memory, led to his profound conviction about the infinity of God, that so profoundly marks his spiritual theology. There are brilliant expositions of the *Life of Moses* and the sermons on the Song of Songs, though a somewhat perfunctory discussion of his contribution to dogmatic theology.

His concluding chapter raises the question of whether there is a 'Cappadocian theology', arguing that there is, illustrating this from their Trinitarian theology, doctrine of Christ's person, and engagement with Hellenism: space constrains him to be suggestive, rather than definitive, but his suggestions are worth following up (Orthodox, in particular, might ponder this: "...Gregory of Nyssa the Spirit does in a sense come from the Son, at least coming through him; and in the Augustinian version the Spirit does come from the Son, but principally from the Father. Attempts have been made to erect wonderfully different ecclesiologies on the base of this slender difference:

it may be doubted with what justification or success', p. 110). This is a fine book, the brevity of which conceals the vast amount of erudition Fr. Meredith has packed into its pages.

Andrew Louth

Ross Saunders, *Outrageous Women Outrageous God: Women in the First Two Generations of Christianity*, E. J. Dwyer, Sydney, 1996. Pp. 182.

Part of the problem in appraising the historical role of women in the Church, or their proper role in today's Church, lies in the fact that contemporary preconceptions cloud our vision and understanding. Much recent research has allowed us to sift through masses of archaeological evidence, enabling us to appreciate the social and religious constraints placed on women through the centuries and across the cultures. This book examines the writings of the New Testament, showing the counter-cultural position of the early Christians in relation to men and women.

The author is a theologian who also has qualifications and experience in communications. He is therefore able to present scholarly data in an accessible and uncluttered manner, while preserving an accurate and not uncritical outlook. The word "outrageous" in the title is meant to describe the manner in which the New Testament writers moved beyond the traditionally and socially acceptable, as well as the extent to which women gained prominence in early Christianity.

Saunders' approach is at once refreshing and practical: after considering the notions of shame and honor, as well as of female identity and family in the Mediterranean world, Saunders looks at all the women mentioned in the Gospels. These include women disciples, women in parables, and women who appear "by default". Interestingly for the Orthodox tradition, the woman who anointed Jesus (Matt. 26, 14) is not identified with the prostitute who anointed Jesus' feet (Luke 7), or again with Mary Magdalene. Next, the author explores the Book of Acts and the Epistles, concluding with a brief analysis of writings from the post-Apostolic era: the Apostolic Fathers, the *Didache*, Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*, the various Apocryphal works and the so-called *Apostolic Constitutions*. Saunders openly

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Graham Gould, *The Desert Fathers on Monastic Community* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993) pp.viii+202.

The *Apophthegmata Patrum*, the collection of sayings, dialogues and short narratives which preserve the words of the fourth and fifth century Egyptian monks, is a document of considerable interest in the history of Christian spirituality. The importance of the *Apophthegmata*, especially as a source of our knowledge of early Christian monasticism, is also widely acknowledged.

This book, based on the author's doctoral thesis at the University of Cambridge, is a study of the life and the thought of the Desert Fathers in the *Apophthegmata*. 'Personal relationships,' as a factor in the monastic life, is the general theme that is examined in the book. The author explores a series of questions: How important are relationships to the Desert Fathers? What factors disrupt the proper conduct of relationships within the community, and how are they to be overcome? What are the responsibilities of both teachers and disciples in ensuring the effectiveness of their relationship?

The discovery of the Desert Fathers' answers to these questions occupies the first four chapters of the book: The Text and the Community; The Abba and his Disciple; The Monk and his Neighbour; The Problems of Anger and Judgement. The final two chapters, Solitude and Interaction; Relationships and Prayer, address questions more directly concerned with the nature of the Desert Fathers' life considered in its totality, both in its ideals and its practical realization. Is the monastic life essentially one of solitude or of interaction, of personal goals or of openness towards others, or is it possible to combine these apparently conflicting views? How does a monk's relationship with his neighbor affect his relationship with God and his life of prayer?

The author challenges some of Peter Brown's arguments in this field, such as the view that the Desert Fathers' concerns are a response to the problems which they experienced in nonmonastic society and that their positions on anger and related problems are a clear reflection of the frictions of Egyptian village life.

He eventually shows that the teaching of the Desert Fathers on the monastic life was profoundly concerned not only with such subjects as asceticism, prayer, and temptation, or with problems such as the place of monasticism in the wider Church and society, but also with the question of monastic community, or personal relationships within the monastic life. In

chapters 5 and 6 reasons are given for believing that, in the life of the majority of monks, a balance between solitary and common life could be structured, for example, through the practice of hospitality—even by those who were most concerned to emphasize the importance of prayer and *hesychia*.

What comes at the end as the overall conclusion, is that the Desert Fathers saw community as an integral part of their monastic ideal and rarely regarded solitude as a way of life to be pursued at the expense of community.

The author has a very good command of primary and secondary sources. Thus, the book is well documented, including a helpful bibliography and index.

I recommend without reservation the addition of this book to the resources for studying the life and the theology of the Desert Fathers. It is a part of a very important series, *The Oxford Early Christian Studies*, which includes scholarly volumes on the thought and history of the early Christian centuries. Covering a wide range of Greek, Latin, and Oriental sources, the books of the series are of great interest to theologians, ancient historians, and specialists in the classical and Jewish worlds.

Christos B. Christakis

Aristarchos Mavrakis, Bishop of Zenoupolis. *The Law of Marriage and Divorce in the Church of England and the Church of Greece in Recent Times (1850-1980) with Its Theological Implications* (Athens, Greece: Historical Publications, S. D. Basilopoulos, 1992) pp. 356.

Bishop Aristarchos of Zenoupolis (assistant Bishop in the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of Thyateira and Great Britain) illustrates in this book the encounter of Orthodoxy and Anglicanism in terms of marriage and divorce. The author shows that there is a great deal that is in common between the Anglican and the Orthodox approach to marriage and divorce, but there are also crucial differences in practice and in theory, which, if recognized, may lead to further constructive developments on both sides.

The book (the author's doctoral thesis from the University of Durham, England) consists of three parts preceded by an introductory section and followed by four appendices and selected bibliographies in English and

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as iconoclasm in the Byzantine church or papal reform in the West. *Évêques, moines et empereurs* is a remarkable volume which is more comprehensive and more useful than any of its forerunners. My most fervent wish is that someone will translate it into English as soon as possible so that it can be used in church history courses here in the United States.

Valerie A. Karras

Dumitru Staniloae, *The Experience of God*. Translated and edited by Ioan Ionita and Robert Barringer. Foreword by Bishop Kallistos Ware. Brookline: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1994. Pp. xxviii + 280.

The Experience of God is an English translation of the first half-volume of Archpriest Dumitru Staniloae's three-volume *Theologia ortodoxa dogmatica*, first published in Romania in 1978, the German translation of which was completed in 1995. Fr Dumitru died in October 1993, in his ninetieth year, as this volume was in the press. In his contribution to the *Festschrift* for Fr Dumitru's ninetieth birthday (which turned out in the event to be a *Denkschrift*), the great French Orthodox thinker, Olivier Clément, hailed him as "certainly today the greatest Orthodox theologian." The truth of that acclamation is thoroughly borne out by his Orthodox Dogmatics, and is even evident from the first half-volume, now available in English. Fr. Dumitru is known and revered in Romania for his life-long commitment to making the riches of the Orthodox theological and spiritual tradition available in his native language, and also for his immense labors as a religious journalist, interpreting the 'interesting times' through which he lived to his fellow-Romanian Christians who shared them with him. For his pains he was imprisoned for five years. His most lasting contribution to the spiritual and intellectual life of Christian Romania will certainly be his translation of the *Philokalia*, greatly augmented compared with the original edition of St Nikodimos the Hagiorite and St Makarios of Corinth, and augmented not least by its inclusion of the major theological works of such as St Maximos the Confessor, St Symeon the New Theologian, and St Gregory Palamas. That fact indicates his commitment to making Orthodox theology available beyond the scholarly world, and also suggests that he sees Orthodox theology in terms of a Neo-Patristic synthesis, to use the expression of Fr Georges Florovsky. Fr Dumitru's Orthodox Dogmatics is, in fact, the first attempt to spell out what might be meant by

such a “Neo-Patristic synthesis.” Bishop Kallistos, in his helpful introduction to the English translation, draws attention to the fact that Fr Dumitru breaks new ground in the history of works of Orthodox dogmatic theology, when he makes the Palamite distinction between essence and energies central to his discussion to the doctrine of God. As it is evident from the plan of the whole work, Fr Dumitru sticks fairly closely to the traditional structure of Orthodox Dogmatics (which is itself borrowed from the structure of Catholic and Protestant Dogmatics of later – sixteenth- and seventeenth-century – scholasticism), but what he fits into that structure is, for the most part, a patristic synthesis, drawing deeply on St Maximos the Confessor, but also St Cyril of Alexandria, the Cappadocian Fathers, St John Chrysostom, Dionysios the Areopagite, St Isaac the Syrian, St Symeon the New Theologian, St Gregory Palamas, and Nicolas Kavalas (in the last volume, he also draws heavily on the liturgical books). Sometimes, it seems to me, the content puts something of a strain on the structure, but time and again one finds oneself surprised and delighted by the twists and turns of Fr Dumitru’s exposition, as he moves from the philosophical to the devotional, from the speculative to the practical. Theologians will find that ordinary problems of Christian living disclose theological issues of startling relevance.

Fr Dumitru’s favorite among the Fathers was almost certainly St Maximos: his comments on the *Mystagogia* and (some of) the *Ambigua* have long been available in a modern Greek translation, and such comments have been Fr Dumitru’s preferred way of engaging with the writings of the Fathers (unlike the original *Philokalia*, his Romanian version is accompanied by notes). Many of the structural elements of his Dogmatics are Maximian. This is evident within a few pages of the first chapter, when he comments that, whereas many of the Fathers thought of man as a microcosm, for St Maximos it would be truer to say that he thought of man as a macrocosm, for “he is called to comprehend the whole world within himself as one capable of comprehending it without losing himself, for he is distinct from the world” (p. 4). This cosmic dimension is drawn out of the personal, not *vice versa*. This mutual implication of the personal and the cosmic runs right through Fr Dumitru’s vision. This understanding of the personal, is as he freely admits, something that is more clearly developed by some modern thinkers than in the Byzantine period, though he is able to see it as drawing out something implicit in the thought of the Fathers, and – an important insight, this – when seen in that light it complements the cosmic, rather than being separated from it, as in much

modern thought. Fr Dumitru knew about the “ecological,” before the word found its modern use (the OED Supplement [1972] records no uses of “ecology” in its modern sense).

This volume discusses revelation and the doctrine of God, including the Trinity. The title of the English translation has been chosen to avoid the unfortunate tones in English of the word “dogmatic.” But it draws attention to a fundamental emphasis of Fr. Dumitru’s: namely, that no true theology can be purely theoretical, it must disclose and interpret an engagement with God. Perhaps the word “experience” (which, it seems to me has overtones almost as unfortunate as the word “dogmatic”) is not the happiest, but those who read Fr. Dumitru will soon realize what is meant. In fact, Fr. Dumitru aligns the “experiential” with the “apophatic,” arguing that what complements our cataphatic, affirmative language about God, drawn from revelation, natural and supernatural, is a sense that our words run out, that what God discloses of himself is experienced as inexhaustible. And the reality of that he expounds in relation to our experience of God’s care and guidance in our everyday life – not in “peak experiences” of an ecstatic nature (see his section on “Knowledge of God in the concrete circumstances of life” (pp. 117-22). The Palamite distinction between God’s essence and his energies is interpreted in much the same way: a way of safeguarding a realization of our encounter with God, which is both genuine (for the energies are God) and yet inexhaustible (for the essence is unknowable).

Theologians, familiar with modern Western dogmatics, will look to see how Fr. Dumitru structures his dogmatics. They will discover that it is necessary to look beyond the chapter titles. For although – to take the example of the doctrine of the Trinity – he treats the Trinity expressly *after* discussing God and his attributes, in reality the doctrine of the Trinity is already adumbrated in his first chapter on natural revelation (in his refusal to speak of the personal God already known through natural revelation as a or the “person”), and is quite explicit before the end of the chapter on supernatural revelation. He has nothing to learn from Rahner there.

The translation, as is evident from the few translator’s notes, has been made very carefully, though less care has been devoted to proof-reading. It does not always read very easily, but that is perhaps a measure of its faithfulness to the original. What it makes available in English is a work of great wisdom, a work that achieves the transcendence of any division between theology and spirituality, something of which we Orthodox so often speak. It is very greatly to be hoped that the remaining five volumes will appear soon.

Andrew Louth

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The Future of Ecumenism: Going Somewhere

LLOYD G. PATTERSON

The subject before us, verging on prophecy needs some definition. For myself, I proceed on the following assumptions. First, the ecumenical vision will be realized in the kingdom of God, when all will participate in the divine life of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Second, it is meanwhile the mandate of the Gospel that the Christian churches seek visible unity as a witness to that ultimate future, the mandate being inherent in the Johannine prayer that "all may be one as [the Father and the Son] are one, that the world may believe." Third, we have come a long way in understanding the dimensions of the problem of discovering that unity and the necessity of facing this problem, and this (which is as close as I will come to saying anything about the "future of ecumenism") must be counted no small thing whatever else is to be said.

But what else is to be said? I take my point of departure from a dictum of Dr. Geoffrey Fisher, William Temple's successor as Archbishop of Canterbury. Back in 1965, Lord Fisher, as he had become, then just retired and looking like the English country squire and headmaster he perhaps always had been underneath the Archiepiscopal regalia, spoke informally at an ecumenical symposium at Episcopal Theological School in the midst of the Second Vatican Council. He was pungent and outspoken, perhaps encouraged by the presence of the late Cardinal Cushing on the occasion. "When Willy Temple was alive," he said in sweeping generalization, "we knew just where we were going, but we didn't know how we'd get there." And he added, "Now, we're going somewhere, but we don't yet know just where."

It strikes me, in retrospect, that Lord Fisher was even more correct than

he knew. In Archbishop Temple's time, the so-called Ecumenical Movement was pretty narrowly confined to the goal of the unification of the non-Roman western churches, which Anglicans promoted on the basis of the Lambeth Quadrilateral, and which eventually bore some still-significant fruit in the Church of South India and the Church of North India. But at that very time, the first assembly of the World council of churches in 1948, with Orthodox participants such as Fr. Florovsky and with Roman Catholic observers, saw the creation of a new and more complex arena of discussion. The work of Vatican II subsequently transformed the ecumenical scene and led to the beginning of the present network of bilateral dialogues based on the conviction – Cardinal Bea's conviction I think it fair to say – that it is through persistent, honest, and sympathetic identification of agreements and disagreements – “over and over again” as he used to say – rather than through the formulation of diplomatic designs to achieve pre-conceived results, that the historic doctrinal differences which at root divide us will be overcome.

Nor should one overlook the effect of the changing world scene of those days, with the end of World War II, the deepening of conscious unbelief in Europe, and the fall of the colonial empires elsewhere: the discovery, to put it so, of the end of Christendom as it had been assumed to exist. As the movement toward unity in India should have already suggested, as the third world pressure for reform at Vatican II showed, and as the impact of the reinvigoration of Islam and Hinduism shows now once again, it is pressure from without and not merely high-mindedness within the churches that has given, and continues to give, impetus to the ecumenical cause.

And now in the present we face a further advance. The new life of the Faith and Order Movement, as it led to the Lima Document, *Baptism, Eucharist, and Ministry* (or, affectionately BEM), marks a new step in laying out a specific agenda for doctrinal discussion to which we are all to some degree committed despite our continuing and serious differences. And so does the successor *Apostolic Faith Today* study, with its call to consider agreement in faith on the basis of the Nicene Creed of 381. And so too does the new *Koinonia* draft for the meeting this August at Santiago, which seeks to place recognition of the several stages of communion we all share in Christ in the context of our common mission to the world. Indeed, I think that as a result there has now been reached at last, not a new scheme for some sort of future Church, but, a way of thinking about to what a renewal of communion among us might lead. And I should add this point:

that it is now clear that discussion of a renewal of communion among us is not an alternative but a concomitant to discussion of the relation of Christianity to other religious traditions. It is now no longer a choice between being interested in Christian ecumenism and being interested in what we have to say in conversation with Judaism, Islam, the religious traditions sprung from the Indian subcontinent, and so on. One form of ecumenism cannot be undertaken without reference to the other.

And yet we are told that just now we are in a period of renewed apathy, and of a reversion to isolation, within the disunited Christian scene. I am not myself quite sure how true this is, since apathy is always with us and is difficult to quantify, but there are specific new problems. The Roman See shows signs of retreating from the commitment of Vatican II. The situation in Eastern Europe is, to say the least, diverting so far as the Orthodox Churches are concerned and the source of tension between them and the Roman See. The decision of the Church of England to ordain women to the priesthood and episcopate has created problems for both the Romans and the Orthodox, somewhat to the bemusement of Anglicans who note that the decision recently taken on the part of the far larger Anglican Provinces of Uganda, Kenya and Southern Africa has not created the same stir. And North America remains peculiarly apathetic – and ecumenism here is charged, and perhaps is chargeable, as merely the preoccupation a theological elite – since here, as nowhere else in the world, Christianity is not challenged by a vocal opposition. What difference would it make to our congregations if we all decided tomorrow that there were no longer any outstanding differences separating us?

But for all this, I remain convinced that we are going somewhere, even if we are not quite sure where. It is really quite difficult, I expect, for any of us to remember what it was like before BEM, or before Vatican II, or before the World Council of Churches, not even to mention what it was like in the aftermath of the 16th century schisms in the western Church, or in the wake of the schism of 1054.

But I do not want to appear too optimistic. I began by recalling a dictum of Archbishop Fisher and I end with a more recent dictum of an eminent Anglican divine, Dr. Henry Chadwick, sometime Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, and now Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge. At the end of an address at Boston College several years ago on the serious but fruitless ecumenical efforts of the Reformation era, he asked "What is it that really divides us?" And he answered "What divides us is disunity." I thought at the time that it was a curious, even simplistic, observation. But the more I

reflect on this observation, the more provocative, and far from simplistic, it seems. It is so at the level of doctrinal discussion, where we are sure that seeming agreement must cloak subtle and nefarious disagreement or duplicity. It is so at the doxological and liturgical level, where we mistrust unfamiliar forms of expression on the assumption that they mean something different from those with which we are familiar. And it is so at the social and cultural level, where we have grown used to living in separate communities subtly but profoundly defined in distinction from others. At all these levels what divides us is disunity. Or to put it the other way around: what eludes us is unity – a unity we all claim to have been given in Christ but cannot recognize in one another.

If, as Lord Fisher said, we are going somewhere, there still remains the seemingly intractable obstacle of disunity itself.

And I suppose we might simply leave the matter there – in the happy condition of disunity – were it not that there is no reason for our being except as a foreshadowing of the ultimate participation of all in the divine life of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Consequently, we need to listen to the prayer that we all may be one, as the Father and the Son, are one, that the world may believe. I suppose that it is my confidence in the efficacy of that prayer that leads me to my cautious – I hope realistic – view of the future of ecumenism.

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The Future of Ecumenism: Tending the Effort

STANLEY SAMUEL HARAKAS

In one of his novels Wendell Berry creates a character, Matt Feltner. The time is World War II. Matt's son Virgil, who was to take over the farm when Matt retired, is missing in action. Matt is fifty years old; his future and the land's future seem very uncertain. Will Virgil be found? Will anyone farm the land? In the midst of these questions, Matt still goes out to clear and renew the overgrown, neglected fields of his sick cousin. Berry writes: "But a few days ago (before the news that Virgil is missing had come), if he had considered expending time and bother on this land, he would have considered also the possibility that he might be able to buy it. But now Virgil is missing, and Matt needs no more land for himself. He is too old now to need it – if he ever did. This new work must be done for the sake of the land itself and for the sake of no one he can foresee, someone who will come later, who will depend then on what is done now."¹

Foretelling the future is without question a risky and dangerous thing. Prophecy has at least two meanings. Both are rooted in the etymology of the word. "Πρό" is the Greek word for "before"; the root verb for the second part of the word is "Φημί", which means to speak. The word can be understood spatially. One can "stand before" an audience, and speak to the gathered people. But the word can be understood chronologically, referring, that is, to time. To "speak before," to "prophecy" in time categories means to foretell the future, to predict what is going to happen. The first kind of "prophecy" is teaching. The second is describing in advance what is going to happen. Needless to say, I am more adept at the first, than I am at the second!

¹ Wendell Berry, *A Place on Earth* (San Francisco: North Point Press, 1982), cited in Michael Scrogin, *Practical Guide to Christian Living* (Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1985).

There is also a prophecy that is different from either of these two. It is not based on etymology, but on the Old Testament experience of prophesy as a denunciation of injustice, of human duplicity, of sinfulness and spiritual failure and cowardice, on the one hand, and the call to faithfulness and communion and obedience to God, on the other. This kind of prophecy is a bold proclamation interpreting God's will to a broken and fallen people. That is even more difficult than predicting the future. It is an audacious task and I think that everyone called to it must have the same kind of hesitancy that an Isaiah had when he stood before the heavenly throne is his vision and said "Woe is me! For I am a man of unclean lips." As a man not only of unclean lips, but also fully without clairvoyance and heavenly vision I must say "Woe is me" many times over, because until this moment, no angel has come with lighted coal to touch my lips and to give me cleansing inspiration.

Nevertheless, we have been summoned to speak about the future of ecumenism. And there is a need to do so. Ecumenism is at some kind of crossroads. My colleague, Fr. Emmanuel Clapsis, speaks of the "ecumenical fatigue" of our time. It might well be the end time for ecumenism, it might be a resting period between great leaps, it might be the harbinger of ecumenism more realistic, more down to earth, more interpenetrating and properly "ecumenical" than anything we have seen before. Whatever the future, this is where you and I are in the ecumenical time frame.

You remember the passage with which I began. Matt Feltner cares for a sick cousin's land, with the hope that it might be in the future of his missing-in-action son. There is no sureness, however, in his work. He doesn't know what the future will be, but he is convinced that he must keep on working the land "for the sake of the land itself – and for the sake of no one he can foresee, someone who will come later, who will depend then on what is done now."

When applied to the topic of the future of ecumenism, this story brings a message. Somehow, the prophetic call, exemplified not by teaching, nor by predicting, but by the provocative, persistent, and resolute faithfulness to the Lord's call "that they all may become one" demands of us (paraphrasing Matt Feltner) that we "cultivate ecumenism, for the sake of the churches, for the sake of nothing we can genuinely foresee at this moment in history, but for those who will come later, who will depend then on what is done now." The story seems to say that our ecumenical task in this time of unclarity and unsureness is to keep on tending the land of the ecumenical effort, "for the sake of those who will come later, who will depend then

on what is done now.”

Yet, the assignment is to talk about the future of ecumenism. A little search of the literature indicates that this topic has been a favorite pastime of those involved in ecumenism.

In 1969 the Reformed theologian, Herman Sasse, in a memorial piece on Augustin Cardinal Bea, the outstanding Roman Catholic ecumenical leader, foresaw changes in the style of ecumenism in both Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, especially focusing on salvation views in both traditions.² The fact is that there have been theological convergences on the idea of salvation, but somehow these have not translated into ecclesial unity.

The same year, in the journal *Religious Education*, William Duggan opined that all Christian churches have loved their pasts too much. He held that there was a growing number of Christian thinkers convinced that the future did not lie in the defense of past-oriented traditions. He saw that the Churches and their theologians were drifting toward a fully ecumenized relationship called Christian. Unfortunately, after Canberra, it has become painfully clear that such “drifting” has not been so positive. Loyalty to past-oriented traditions has been replaced by equally conflicting present and future oriented perspectives.³

In 1974 Drew University theologian Thomas Oden, in an article titled “The Human Potential and Evangelical Hope” called for the need for visionaries in the church, fully aware that many prophets miscalculate the future and mismanage the concept of hope. He looked for a stability that can transcend the faddish and ephemeral in the ecumenical endeavor. All to the good it would seem. But he held that ecumenism must go beyond the ecumenisms of doctrine, liturgy, and polity to the ecumenism of the Spirit. Once again, if this was prophecy in the sense of foretelling what we would experience, focusing on the Spirit at Canberra seemed to have had just the opposite effect.⁴

A few years later, Joseph McLelland triumphantly proclaimed that the goal of ecumenism had been achieved since the world’s Christian groups were now all in dialogue, with the entrance of the Orthodox into the theological discussions, balancing off the western Protestant and Roman Catholic discussions with Eastern Christian perspectives. But the emergence of new theologies liberation theologies, feminist theologies, third world theologies, black, Asian and indigenous peoples’ theologies seems

²Hermann Sasse, “Salvation Outside the Church? In piam memoriam Augustin Cardinal Bea,” *Reformed Theological Review* 28:1 (1969, 1-16).

³J. A. William Duggan, “Reflection on Ecumenism,” *Religious Education* 64:1 (1969) 61-64.

⁴Thomas C. Oden, “The Human Potential and Evangelical Hope,” *Dialog* 13:2 (1974) 121-128.

to have brought the expectation of the fulfillment of ecumenism quite low. Yes, it is dangerous to prophesy!⁵

The listing of failed prophecies about the future of ecumenism could go on *ad infinitum*, it would seem, but I cannot help but mention our own efforts at this kind of prediction. In 1981 *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* published the proceedings of a conference held here on this campus precisely on the theme of the future of ecumenism. One article by Emidio Campi focused on “renewal” as the course of the future; however, for many, “renewal” has been perceived as “betrayal” of authentic Christian values. Renewal has not been the harbinger of ecumenical unity.⁶

In the same issue Fr. Edward Kilmartin, in an article on “Visions of the Future of Ecumenism,” looked for a Roman Catholic turn to a kind of “process ecumenism” leading to a new kind of communion of Churches. Nice idea; but in the face of ecclesial realities of post-Communist Europe, not very accurate.⁷

Perhaps one of the most far-ranging expressions of the future of the Church was given by the late Orthodox ecumenist Nikos Nissiotis in this issue of the *Greek Orthodox Theological Review*. While much was retrospective and the five points of future predictions for the ecumenical movement not all out of joint with subsequent events, Nissiotis expected a growing consensus among ecumenists. I think it is fair to say that participants in ecumenism have tended to cluster, so that after Canberra, some ecumenical-minded conservative Roman Catholics, some Evangelicals and many ecclesially-minded Orthodox find that they have more in common with each other than with other Liberation-minded Roman Catholic, main-line Protestants, and feminist, third world, Asian, and indigenous theologies. The consensus that has been achieved has perhaps also marked new divisions.⁸

I could continue, of course. My purpose has not been to criticize the efforts of persons much more in tune with the ecumenical movement than I am, but to point to the danger and futility of a predictive understanding of prophecy in this area.

In the end, my unpurged lips must fall silent in attempting to predict the

⁵ Joseph C. McLelland, “The End of Ecumenism: Sharing the Mystery,” *Reformed World* 34:6 (1977) 256-261.

⁶ Emidio Campi, “Renewal as Liberation and as Spiritual Development in the Future of Ecumenism – A perspective,” *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 26:4, (1981) 332-342.

⁷ Edward J. Kilmartin, “Visions of the Future of Ecumenism,” *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 26:4 (1981) 305-313.

⁸ Nikos A. Nissiotis, “Visions of the Future of Ecumenism,” *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 26:4 (1981) 280-304.

future of ecumenism. But prophesy in the sense of what we might be called to do, today, in our own age and time might still be possible.

Halford Luccock, the well-known preacher and teacher of preachers, tells a story in his appropriately-named volume, *Unfinished Business*.⁹ He tells of an Englishman, Osbert Sitwell, who once wrote a novel that had a memorable scene in it, even though it was only fancy. The novel was titled, *The Man Who Lost Himself*. In the middle of the novel there is a scene where the hero was trailing a person in Paris. He wanted to know if the man he was after was stopping at a certain hotel. He figured out that one way to do it without exciting suspicion would be to go to the clerk and ask him if he himself – giving his own name – was registered there. Then, when the clerk was looking at the register, he could glance down the page and see if the name of the older man was entered.

So he carried out the plan and then got the shock of his life. The clerk looked up and said: “Yes, he has been looking for you. He is in Room 40. I will have you shown right up.” There was nothing to do but go through with it, so the man followed the bell boy to Room 40. And it is there that the story goes off the deep end. For when he went into the room, there he found a man remarkably like himself. The person he met was himself as he would be at the age of forty, just twenty years ahead.

Luccock’s conclusion was focused on our personal lives. He concluded that there is a man out there in the future waiting for each of us, the man we will be twenty years from now. But there is an ecumenical conclusion, as well. As the ecumenical movement seeks to find itself, in all likelihood, its future will be found in what those committed to the ecumenical idea do now. Our prophetic call today, includes teaching for sure. Even our predicting, cannot be but an evocation of a better ecumenical future. But at this time in history, with its low points and strains, it is the provocative, persistent and resolute faithfulness to the Lord’s call “that they all may become one” that looms the largest. Like the farmer waiting for his missing in action son, the call today for ecumenically minded Christians seems to require that we “cultivate ecumenism, for the sake of the churches, for the sake of nothing we can genuinely foresee at this moment in history, but for those who will come later, who will depend then on what is done now.” I repeat my conviction: our ecumenical task in this time of unclarity and unsureness is to keep on tending the land of the ecumenical effort, “for the sake of those who will come later, who will depend then on what is done now.”

⁹ Halford E. Luccock, *Unfinished Business* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1956).

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The Future of Ecumenism: The Need of Leadership in the Churches

ROGER HAIGHT, S.J.

In my remarks, it will be clear that by ecumenism I am referring to dialogue between the Christian churches and the movement toward greater unity. I shall not in any way predict the future of this movement. My aim is rather to give a personal reflection about the context for its immediate future and why I think there is a need at this stage for leadership at the upper echelons of responsibility. The imperative for an exercise of more intentional leadership arises out of our present-day historical situation. Let me begin then by simply pointing to five characteristics of our context.

Historical Consciousness. In Western theology in the modern period, beginning as far back as Friedrich Schleiermacher at the beginning of the 19th century, there has been a growing sense of historical consciousness in intellectual culture and in theology. Practically speaking, this sense of historicity now forms a common backdrop for all the theology being produced in Western churches. Historical consciousness recognizes the function of context and circumstance, the particulars of time and place, and the role of human freedom that are involved in the development of all these worldly institutions. And this applies to churches as well. Because this historical consciousness is so deeply ingrained among the educated, they expect pluralism in human affairs and have come to value it.

Pluralism. Historical consciousness and the recognition of a certain value in pluralism were the preconditions or the presuppositions for the take-off of the ecumenical movement at the beginning of this century. By pluralism I do not mean sheer diversity of phenomena, but differences within an over-arching unity, commonalty, and interchange. A positive appreciation of pluralism entails the insight that the validity of one institution does not

necessarily imply the non-validity of another, unless it is explicitly, in the same sense, and from the same perspective, contradictory in an important matter. In matters of transcendence, because of their transcendence, one can reckon on a possible coincidence of opposites even in what appears to be contradictions. This sense of pluralism has been the foundation from many statements in bilateral conversations between churches of non-divisive differences. But it could extend much further because the social sciences have shed enormous light on the real sources of difference.

Social Differentiation. Another aspect of historicity, one that is often not attended to sufficiently by theologians in ecumenical discussions, is the social differentiation between the churches. To understate the case, it may be said that the real causes or bases of the divisions between churches lie less in doctrine and theology and more in ordinary sociological factors. H. Richard Niebuhr, in his book *The Social sources of Denominationalism* written in the 1920's, showed fairly convincingly the role of socio-historical forces in keeping churches apart. What really separated the churches is not so much doctrine as race, ethnic background, ethos, class background, nationalism, regionalism, language, ethical customs and mores, or, more simply, just plain ways of doing things to which people have become accustomed. If Niebuhr's thesis has any merit, theologians alone addressing doctrinal matters will not carry the churches toward unity in any decisive way.

World-wide Social Suffering. A fourth aspect of our situation is the world-wide social suffering of our fellow human beings. In absolute terms, never has the human race witnessed the amount of human suffering and oppression that we have witnessed in the 20th century. The killing of the innocent in wars, massive poverty, social degradation, and dehumanization in our world provide other urgent reasons for more Christian unity and collaboration. It is true that even a unified Christendom could not solve the world's problems. But Christians have a mission from God to be a public witness, and not a divided countersign, to God's will for human life as that has been revealed in Jesus. Even secular governments and societies need a stabilizing and transcendent source of values for directing their public affairs and common good.

Contact with the Religions of the World. And, fifthly, I want to highlight the aspect of the background of ecumenism that is formed by the new prominence of the other world religions and our contact with them. These other religions have, of course, always been there, but they have asserted

themselves more strongly on the world's stage during the 20th century. There has also been much more interaction among the world's religions because of the shrinking planet, the growth in population, and the strengthening of the bonds of interdependence through business, communications, politics, and immigration. People of different religions are interacting today as never before and this interaction can only increase.

This new relationship with the world religions has a variety of effects on our inter-Christian ecumenical relationships. Dialogue with other religions is much more interesting and challenging. It has generated a much more tolerant, open, and even accepting view of the validity of other religious ways to God. Also, in a sort of dialectical way, it has also strengthened the quest for one's own identity. In a shrinking and religiously pluralistic world, people are returning to a kind of sectarianism that wants to define a group identity over against others. Religions and churches, like persons, resist homologization. But this background can also have positive influence on ecumenism which I shall mention presently.

Opportunity and Challenge. If these five characterizations of our present situation are more or less accurate, they also describe some of the coordinates that will define ecumenical movement into the future. I would like to mention two aspects of that future, one an opportunity, the other a challenge.

First of all, a dialogical contact with other world religions should not co-opt the energy of inter-Christian relations but rather stimulate it in a new, freeing way. With the growing recognition of the validity in principle of other religions there should be an opening up of more mutuality between Christian churches. With the exception of fundamentalist groups, the majority of educated Christians today would readily affirm the validity and authenticity of other Christian churches. They would affirm the internal freedom of a person to choose the Christian church where he or she feels at home with God. In other words, the backdrop of other world religions and interchanges with them, especially on the people-to-people level, has increased respect for these religions. And this has in turn made the differences between Christian churches relative. Against the background of the differences between Christians and other religions, many of the things that we have allowed to divide us now appear as petty, unimportant, backyard squabbles between siblings.

But, secondly, this does not seem to be happening. Theologians have completed extensive conversations that relativized differences between the churches, and yet the trend in the churches is towards sectarianism, toward

an intense concern about self-identity. Today the churches seem more concerned with building boundaries between themselves and other churches; they are less concerned about dialogue with the world or with other churches and religions than with defining themselves over against other Christian churches.

I believe that the only persons who can break this log jam are the leaders of the churches at the very top offices of representation. One way the ecumenical movement can proceed along its natural course of development under the impulse of God as Spirit is through the symbolic causality of church leaders, that is, the symbolic gestures, events, and speaking out by the heads of the churches. This is the only way to address the real causes of division that lie rooted in the social sources of denominationalism and inertia of the membership of the churches at large.

I do not want to exempt theologians from responsibility for leadership here. But I believe that ecumenical theologians are suffering from a great deal of frustration with the failure of the churches to take up some of the positive results they have generated. But theologians still have the responsibility to educate the membership of the churches about the historical character and tangibility of their institutions and the imperatives of openness to other churches.

Finally, if these reflections correspond in any way to the situation of the churches today, then the leadership of the churches will bear an increasingly heavy responsibility for the stagnation of the ecumenical movement and the continued disunity of Christ's church.

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THE GREEK ORTHODOX THEOLOGICAL REVIEW

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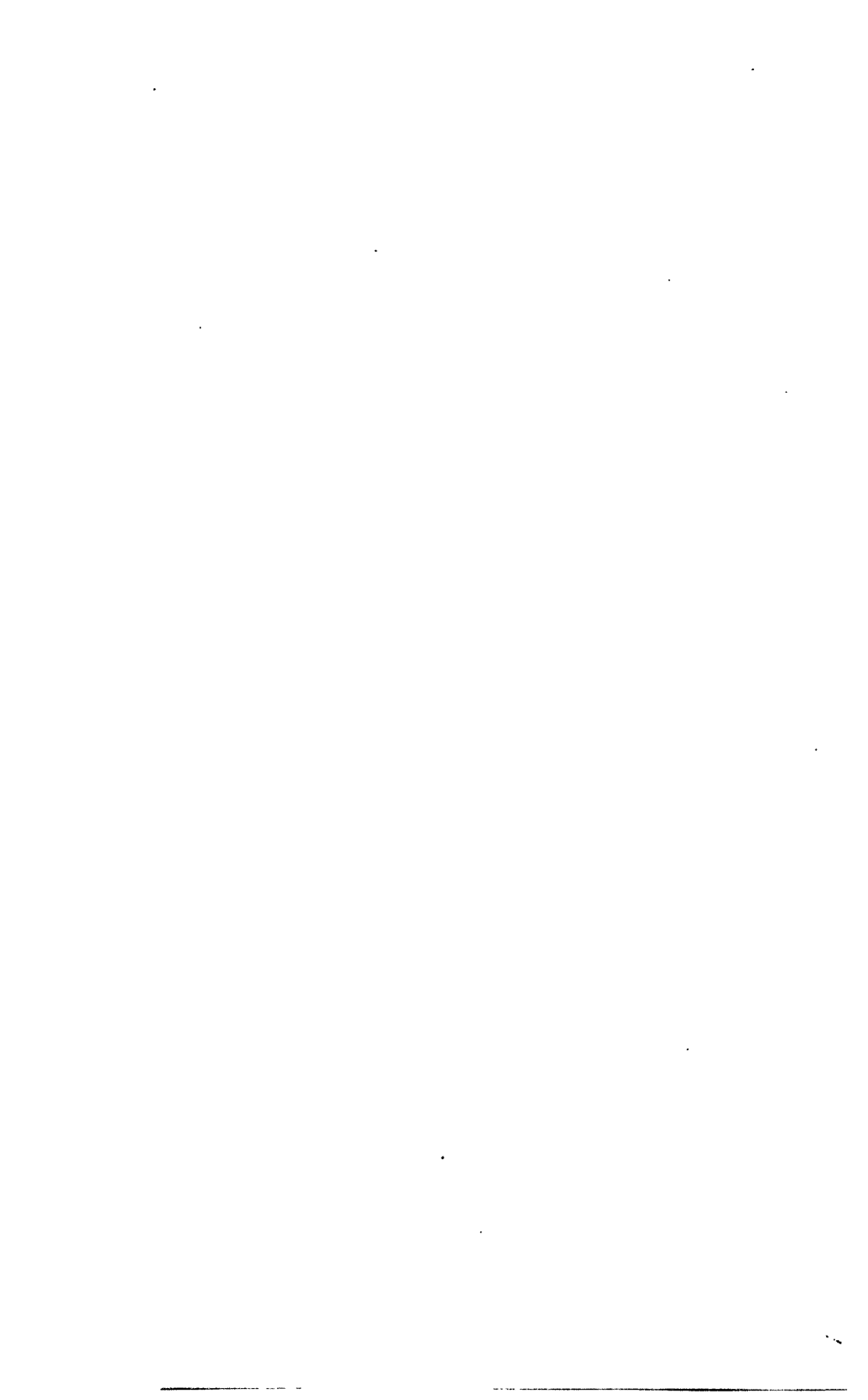
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The Greek Orthodox Theological Review brings to the attention of its readers a new publication, the *St. Nersess Theological Review* which began publication February, 1996, as a semi-annual journal of the St. Nersess Armenian Seminary, 150 Stratton Road, New Rochelle, NY, 10804. Regular subscriptions are \$15 a year.

Volume 1, number 1 (115 pages) includes: 1) articles related to Armenian Orthodox history and theological concerns; 2) the proceedings of the Oriental and Eastern Orthodox Symposium held on March 21, 1995 which was co-sponsored by St. Nersess Armenian Seminary and St. Vladimir's Orthodox Theological Seminary; 3) documentation from the Joint Commission of the Theological Dialogue between the Orthodox Church and the Oriental Orthodox Churches; and 4) book reviews. The SNTR is well edited and presented. Editor is the Rev. Fr. Arakel Aljalian, Administrator of the Seminary.

Stanley S. Harakas



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Book Reviews: Fr. Alexander Men; Ecology and the Environment

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Documentation: Georges Tsetsis on Estonia

In Memoriam: Patriarch Parthenios of Alexandria;
Fr. Leonidas Contos

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**ORTHODOXY AND
THE ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT:**

**A CONFERENCE IN HONOR
OF THE 100TH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE BIRTH OF
FR. GEORGES FLOROVSKY,
MARCH 22-23, 1993**

Guest Edited by
George C. Papademetriou

INTRODUCTION

Foreword

Fr. Georges Florovsky was one of the foremost Orthodox Christian ecumenical spokespersons of the twentieth century. In that role, Fr. Florovsky articulated the Orthodox Faith in the ecumenical context, enunciated the problems confronted by the Orthodox Churches in their inter-Church relations, and provided positive theological leadership for Orthodox Christianity as it faced the contemporary world.

The faculty of Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology, in recognition of Fr. Georges' contribution to Orthodox theology in the world and particularly in America, and in appreciation of his contributions to ecumenism, sponsored a conference at Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology, March 22-23, 1993, in honor of the centennial of his birth. Several speakers presented studies on Orthodoxy and the modern Ecumenical Movement of which Father Florovsky was very much a part since its inception.

The program of the conference was as follows:

On Monday evening, March 22, 1993, Bishop Methodios of Boston, then President of Hellenic College, offered Prefatory Remarks. He was followed by the then Dean, Fr. Alkiviadis Calivas who offered Greetings. The Rev. Dr. George C. Papademetriou began the conference with an introductory presentation on the theme "Fr. Georges Florovsky, A Contemporary Church Father."

The first formal section of the conference, consisting of two major papers of personal reminiscences and of assessments of Fr. Florovsky's contributions, were presented by Dr. George Bebis on "Fr. Georges Florovsky: The Theologian and the Man," and by Dr. George H. Williams on "Fr. Georges Florovsky's Vision of Ecumenism."

The Tuesday noon session, featuring a panel on the future of ecumenism, was chaired by Rev. Dr. Theodore Stylianopoulos. The speakers were Rev. Dr. Stanley Harakas, Rev. Dr. Lloyd Patterson and Rev. Dr. Roger Haight.

This was followed by the early afternoon session on local ecumenism, chaired by Rev. Dr. Alkiviadis Calivas. The speakers were: Rev. Dr. Tho-

mas Fitzgerald and Rev. Dr. Rodney Petersen. The late afternoon session, on the World Council of Churches, was chaired by the Rev. Emmanuel Clapsis, and the speakers were Rev. Emmanuel J. Gratsias, V. Rev. Dr. Gennadios Limouris, and Metropolitan Methodios (Fouyas) whose paper was read by Rev. Nicholas Krommydas.

On Tuesday evening, after Vespers, the final session of the conference was chaired by Metropolitan Demetrios of Vresthena. The speakers, Rev. Dr. William G. Rusch, Rev. Dr. Robert Stephanopoulos and Rev. Dr. Joan B. Campbell, discussed the relations of Orthodoxy and the National Council of the Churches of Christ (NCCC).

I was greatly honored to chair this conference and I am happy to present selected papers in this issue of the *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* in a somewhat revised order, as a "journal of record" of this conference.

George C. Papademetriou
Guest Editor

Prefatory Remarks

Fr. Georges Florovsky, a native of Odessa, Russia, was one of the most prominent and visionary theological minds of our century. A son of a priestly family, he began his career in science and philosophy in his native Russia. His first contribution was an experimental study prepared under the famous Russian scientist, I. P. Pavlov, "On the Salivary Secretion," published in 1917.

Following the 1917 revolution, Fr. Georges fled Russia and settled first in Sofia, Bulgaria, then Prague, and finally in Paris where he began his theological career in dialogue with the West. In 1932, he entered the ranks of the clergy under the Ecumenical Patriarchate and remained a priest of the See of Constantinople until his death.

In 1948 he came to the United States of America, where he served as a faculty member and Dean of St. Vladimir's Seminary. He was a professor at Columbia, Harvard and Princeton Universities, as well as at our own Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology.

Fr. Florovsky, a true guide to theologians and priests, served Orthodoxy with his historical and theological acumen in his life-time, and continues to do so through his insightful and scholarly articles and books. Significantly, Fr. Florovsky recognized the importance of Hellenism for Orthodox theology today. In that regard, he stated the following:

Precisely because, in our own days, the Orthodox Church is facing new issues, new problems in a changing and changed world, and has to respond to the new challenge of the contemporary situation in complete loyalty to her tradition, it is our bounded duty to recover the creative spirit of Christian Hellenism, and to be as alive to the claims of our own epoch, as the masters of old were alive to the challenge of their age. In brief, one has to learn to be at once "ancient" and "modern." The task of our time, in the

Orthodox world, is to rebuild the Christian-Hellenic culture, not of relics and memories of the past, but out of the perennial spirit of our Church, in which the values of culture were truly "christened." Let us be more "Hellenic" in order that we may be truly Christian (*Orthodox Observer*, January, 1957, p. 10).

It is fitting that this conference both honors Fr. Georges Florovsky at the centennial of his birth and as the subject of this year's Patriarch Athenagoras Memorial Lectures. Both of these influential men offered inspirational visions which guided Orthodoxy in the 20th century.

We express sincere thanks to George and Crystal Condakes who funded the lectures in memory of their father, the late Archon of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese, Peter Condakes, and to the late Marcelle R. Varver for financial support for this conference.

As President when the Florovsky Conference on Ecumenism took place, I am pleased to preface this issue of the *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* containing the papers presented in honor of the one hundredth anniversary of his birth.

Bishop Methodios (Tournas) of Boston

I.
FR. GEORGES V. FLOROVSKY:
THE MAN, HIS WORK AND ECUMENISM

II. ORTHODOXY AND WORLD ECUMENISM

III.

ORTHODOXY AND LOCAL ECUMENISM

IV.
A PANEL ON THE FUTURE OF ECUMENISM

Participants

Dr. George Bebis is Professor of Patristics, Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology, Brookline, Massachusetts.

Rev. Dr. Joan B. Campbell is General Secretary, National Council of Churches of Christ.

Most Rev. Methodios Fouyas is Metropolitan of Pisidia and resides in Athens, Greece.

Rev. Emmanuel J. Gratsias is Pastor, Holy Resurrection Greek Orthodox Church Glen Cove, NY and a member of the North American Orthodox-Roman Catholic Dialogue.

Rev. Dr. Thomas FitzGerald is the senior Orthodox theologian and the Executive Director of the Program Unit on Unity and Renewal at the World Council of Churches. He is on leave from Hellenic College/Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology.

Rev. Dr. Roger Haight is Professor of Systematic Theology, Weston School of Theology, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Rev. Dr. Stanley Harakas is Archbishop Iakovos Professor of Orthodox Theology, Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology, Brookline, Massachusetts.

Rev. Prof. Gennadios Limouris serves at the World Council of Churches.

Rev. Dr. George C. Papademetriou is Director of the Library and Associate Professor of Theology, Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology, Brookline, Massachusetts.

Rev. Lloyd G. Patterson is Professor of Historical Theology, Episcopal Divinity School, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Rodney L. Peterson is Executive Director of the Boston Theological Institute.

Rev. Dr. William G. Rusch is Director, Dept. of Ecumenical Affairs Evangelical Lutheran Church in America.

Dr. George H. Williams is Hollis Professor of Divinity Emeritus, Harvard University.

The Collected Works of Georges Florovsky

**VOLUME I: BIBLE, CHURCH, TRADITION: AN EASTERN
ORTHODOX VIEW**

Belmont, MA: Nordland Publishing Company, 1972

VOLUME II: CHRISTIANITY AND CULTURE

Belmont, MA: Nordland Publishing Company, 1974

VOLUME III: CREATION AND REDEMPTION

Belmont, MA: Nordland Publishing Company, 1976

VOLUME IV: ASPECTS OF CHURCH HISTORY

Belmont, MA: Nordland Publishing Company, 1975

VOLUME V: WAYS OF RUSSIAN THEOLOGY. PART ONE

Richard S. Haugh, General Editor

Belmont, MA: Nordland Publishing Company, 1979

VOLUME VI: WAYS OF RUSSIAN THEOLOGY. PART TWO

Richard S. Haugh, General Editor

Buchervertriebsanstalt, 1987

Belmont, MA: Notable & Academic Books

**VOLUME VII: THE EASTERN FATHERS OF THE
FOURTH CENTURY**

Richard S. Haugh, General Editor

Buchervertriebsanstalt

Belmont, MA: Notable & Academic Books

VOLUME VIII: THE BYZANTINE FATHERS OF THE FIFTH CENTURY

Richard S. Haugh, General Editor
Buchervertriebsanstalt, 1987
Belmont, MA: Notable & Academic Books

VOLUME IX: THE BYZANTINE FATHERS OF THE SIXTH TO EIGHTH CENTURY

Richard S. Haugh, General Editor
Buchervertriebsanstalt
Belmont, MA: Notable & Academic Books

VOLUME X: THE BYZANTINE ASCETIC AND SPIRITUAL FATHERS

Richard S. Haugh, General Editor
Buchervertriebsanstalt, 1987
Belmont, MA: Notable & Academic Books

VOLUME XI: THEOLOGY AND LITERATURE

Richard S. Haugh, General Editor
Buchervertriebsanstalt, 1989
Belmont, MA: Notable & Academic Books

VOLUME XII: PHILOSOPHY. PHILOSOPHICAL PROBLEMS AND MOVEMENTS

Richard S. Haugh, General Editor
Buchervertriebsanstalt, 1989
Belmont, MA: Notable & Academic Books

VOLUME XIII: ECUMENISM I. A DOCTRINAL APPROACH.

Richard S. Haugh, General Editor
Buchervertriebsanstalt, 1989
Belmont, MA: Notable & Academic Books

VOLUME XIV: ECUMENISM II. A HISTORICAL APPROACH

Buchervertriebsanstalt, 1989
Belmont, MA: Notable & Academic Books

and of the divinity. Yet many years ago, Fr. Sergei Bulgakov (1879–1944) courageously strove to provide a theological basis for the understanding of Sophia. And while today many thinkers search for the “Goddess” outside of the divinity, Bulgakov showed how the divine Sophia, in whom all things are created, is present in the Holy Trinity.

This is a fundamental book, controversial and challenging at once, and it is pleasing to have a modern edition of this seminal text of Russian philosophy and Orthodox theology. The publication is enriched by a helpful foreword by Christopher Bamford (pp. vii–xx), a bibliography of major writings by Bulgakov (pp. xxi–xxiii), and an index (pp. 149–155).

John Chryssavgis

Stephen Anthony, *Flickering Reflections*. Farmington Hills MI: Roof Top Press, 1994. Pp. 118 pages.

If there is one thing that we have learned in recent times about the way our past is received and interpreted, it is that there are many levels on which Church history is written and conveyed. To concentrate on the hierarchical level alone (significant clergy, cities, and councils) is often to portray an unbalanced, incomplete picture.

The author of this book is a retired (in 1992) priest of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese in this country, who has made “a collection of original, whimsical, heartwarming, autobiographical stories, culled from over fifty years of meaningful and productive service” (title page). The eighty-one anecdotes can prove useful as didactic and edifying material in parish groups, but above all provide numerous insightful illustrations of devoted laity of the Church, whom the author encountered during almost a half century of parish ministry. Fr. Stephen also writes with utmost fraternal respect of his fellow clergy.

Students of the history of Orthodoxy in this land, as well as younger clergy assuming ministry in parishes, have a great deal to learn from the priestly generation who laid the foundations of the Orthodox Church in the United States. Even if their memory is, yet the flame that they lit is far from “flickering.”

John Chryssavgis

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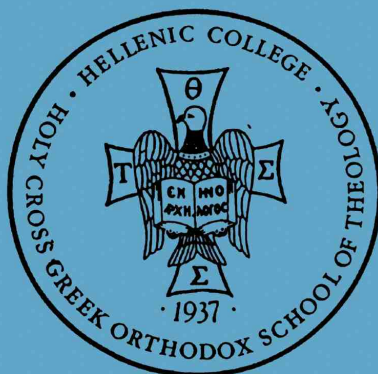
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THE GREEK ORTHODOX THEOLOGICAL REVIEW

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Jaroslav Z. Skira: Ecclesiology in the International Orthodox—Catholic Ecumenical Dialogue

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discusses St. Paul's comments on women, by engaging his time and culture, thereby disclosing the positive outlook of Paul in a manner not unfamiliar to the patristic commentary tradition, especially St. John Chrysostom.

The evidence is unequivocal: women of the early Christian community were welcomed and encouraged to participate the life of the Church. In later centuries, the position and role of women were constrained by the increasingly hardening hierarchical structure of the Church. Orthodox readers may not easily or entirely understand how Saunders makes the leap to the matter of the ordination of women to leadership roles, but they will undoubtedly be reminded of the influence and importance of women in the Apostolic Church, which the Orthodox Church has acknowledged and articulated in recent years with discussions of the appraisal and re-introduction of deaconesses in the Church today.

John Chryssavgis

The Incarnate God: The Feasts of Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary 2 vols. Catherine Aslanoff, Editor of the French edition. Translated by Paul Meyendorff. Illustrations by Andrew Tregubov. Crestwood: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1995. Pp. 474 + index and glossary.

In order to appreciate the scope of this generally excellent work, one must first spend some time with its forerunner and companion two-volume set, *The Living God: A Catechism for the Christian Faith* (St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1989). In that work, two features stand out that set out for the reader the intent of both works, originally published in French, and can assist us in our assessment of the new volume. First is the ecclesial nature of the work. The second is that the works are designed for catechists, that is for those who will teach the faith to others.

The two works aim to deepen the reader's life in the Church, because as *Living God* states, "We can only enter into communion with Jesus in so far as we live with Him in the Church" (p. xv). Thus the aim of *Incarnate God* is to immerse the reader into the Church's liturgical celebrations of the great feasts of the Lord and the Virgin Mary by exploring the icons, scriptural themes, hymnology and the theological themes which explicate but also emerge from the feast.

While novices will find the chapters accessible and understandable, these explorations are hardly "quick introductions" to the festal calendar. Rather they explain the significance of the feast within the liturgical year and salvation history with detail and depth, ranging from Old Testament prototypes to contemporary theological concepts. These are clearly works from deep within the heart of the Church, reflecting a great deal of awareness, study, reflection, and prayer on the part of the author. The Christian story is clearly told, although at times merely paraphrases and explanations of scriptural texts. However, given that many modern readers are unfamiliar with scriptural and liturgical images, this eminently readable text and translation will serve adolescent and adult learners well. In addition, clergy will find them to be excellent resources for homilies and other pastoral messages.

The second point that *Living God* makes is that these works are intended for catechists, to give them more tools in their religious instruction. No doubt, many catechists, clergy, and other educators are already using these both of these works in adult education and Sunday school settings. As a catechetical resource, *Incarnate God* and its companion *Living God* will find a wide acceptance and should be on the shelves of those involved in Christian education. *Living God* states that these works are not intended to serve as lessons—a chapter a week—however, I fear that this is precisely how they may be utilized, especially considering our lack of quality adult education resources. Thus, I have two reservations about these books, in spite of their high quality.

Living God introduces and *Incarnate God* maintains the use of a "Seeker–Sage" dialogue as a pedagogical device although with less frequency in the latter work. Even as the dialogue is clearly artificial, the dialogue invites the impression that there is a deposit of information being made from the expert into a passive learner. When the dialogue stops, the impression is a lecture: not always the best pedagogical approach and inconsistent with the holistic conception of knowledge that we claim as Orthodox. A more active dialogue would allow the questions, "What might this mean to me as a Christian?" and "What then must we do?" about the topic being discussed to be asked. Orthodox faith is more than an intellectual assent to doctrine, but a lived experience which draws upon all aspects of the person to create the knowledge of living in communion with the incarnate God.

This requires an active pedagogical approach which could be achieved, even in a printed book.

A second reservation concerns the "liturgical captivity" of the work. True, its intent is to cover the liturgical feast days and thus I cannot make too strong a point in the case of *Incarnate God*, but Boojamra has persuasively pointed out that the Church is more than liturgy and that Orthodox Christian education has been distorted by this overly liturgical emphasis. Even the preface to *Living God* reminds Orthodox readers that we sometimes succumb to ritualism and can become more inward looking than outward. Catechesis involves nurturing the members of the community into a community which worships, but also engages in fellowship (*koinonoia*), ministry (*diakonia*), preaching and teaching (*kerygma* and *didache*), and witness (*martyria*) to the world.

On a much more positive pedagogical note, *Incarnate God* uses iconography throughout the text and more effectively than *Living God*. There are iconic pointers on nearly every page, that is a set of symbols which highlight liturgical, Psalm, Old Testament, and New Testament passages. These and the extensive use of iconography serve to reconnect the reader with the sources of the Orthodox Tradition for the explanations offered about the feasts. These images nudge the reader into reflecting upon the rich textures of Orthodox Christianity and how it is lived and known, beyond mere discourse *about* the faith.

Anton C. Vrame

Alkiviadis C. Calivas, *Great Week and Pascha in the Greek Orthodox Church* (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1992). Pp.ix + 145.

Drawing on twelve years of teaching a Holy Week Seminar at Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology, Fr. Alkiviadis Calivas (professor of Liturgy and President of Hellenic College and Holy Cross) has written *Great Week and Pascha in the Greek Orthodox Church* "to help the seminarian better understand and more fully appreciate the liturgical wealth and the profound theological and spiritual riches contained in the divine services of Great Week and Pascha" (vii). The audience, however, must be much wider to necessitate this second printing.

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chapters 5 and 6 reasons are given for believing that, in the life of the majority of monks, a balance between solitary and common life could be structured, for example, through the practice of hospitality—even by those who were most concerned to emphasize the importance of prayer and *hesychia*.

What comes at the end as the overall conclusion, is that the Desert Fathers saw community as an integral part of their monastic ideal and rarely regarded solitude as a way of life to be pursued at the expense of community.

The author has a very good command of primary and secondary sources. Thus, the book is well documented, including a helpful bibliography and index.

I recommend without reservation the addition of this book to the resources for studying the life and the theology of the Desert Fathers. It is a part of a very important series, *The Oxford Early Christian Studies*, which includes scholarly volumes on the thought and history of the early Christian centuries. Covering a wide range of Greek, Latin, and Oriental sources, the books of the series are of great interest to theologians, ancient historians, and specialists in the classical and Jewish worlds.

Christos B. Christakis

Aristarchos Mavrakis, Bishop of Zenoupolis. *The Law of Marriage and Divorce in the Church of England and the Church of Greece in Recent Times (1850-1980) with Its Theological Implications* (Athens, Greece: Historical Publications, S. D. Basilopoulos, 1992) pp. 356.

Bishop Aristarchos of Zenoupolis (assistant Bishop in the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of Thyateira and Great Britain) illustrates in this book the encounter of Orthodoxy and Anglicanism in terms of marriage and divorce. The author shows that there is a great deal that is in common between the Anglican and the Orthodox approach to marriage and divorce, but there are also crucial differences in practice and in theory, which, if recognized, may lead to further constructive developments on both sides.

The book (the author's doctoral thesis from the University of Durham, England) consists of three parts preceded by an introductory section and followed by four appendices and selected bibliographies in English and

Greek. In the introduction the Biblical and historical data of marriage theology and practice are briefly outlined. Part I deals with the background to the situation in England in the mid-nineteenth century; the general development of the civil and ecclesiastical legislation on marriage in England since 1850; the legislation of Nullity; the law of divorce in England up to 1950; further developments in England from 1950 to 1980.

Part II deals with the Byzantine background to the law of marriage and divorce in the Church of Greece; the conditions and impediments to marriage and the law of nullity; the development of the law of divorce in Greece before 1950; further developments from 1950 to 1980, and the discussions on civil marriage in Greece.

In Part III the main points of the civil and ecclesiastical legislation on marriage and divorce in England and Greece are compared. The Orthodox and Anglican theological stance concerning marriage, though closely similar on the general theoretical and ritual basis, seem to diverge decisively on practical considerations, particularly in the case of broken marriages.

Appendix I provides a brief exposition of the Orthodox conception of 'economy' which is basic for understanding the practice of the Orthodox Church on marriage. Appendix II deals with the liturgical structure of the Orthodox rite of marriage and provides an English version of the actual liturgical order for first and second marriages, as well the service for re-establishing dissolved marriages. Appendix III provides the basic canons governing the present law of marriage and divorce in the Church of England. Appendix IV includes an English-Greek and a Greek-English glossary of some terms used in connection with the law of marriage and divorce.

The book is concerned with the fundamental historical, legal, canonical, liturgical and theological data of the subject. Though mainly historical and canonical in character, it also offers a theological dimension of the subject. Marriage and divorce in church and state are always matters of interest and often occupy a central place in the ecclesiastical agenda of many countries. The present work sums up the developments in England and Greece, and represents the first comprehensive and up-to-date account of the mid-nineteenth century to 1980. Thus, it represents a valuable contribution in the modern ecumenical discussion on the issues of marriage and divorce.

Christos B. Christakis

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The National Council of the Churches of Christ and the Orthodox Church

JOAN BROWN CAMPBELL

It is in the first-hand knowledge of the deep and abiding Orthodox commitment to Christian unity that I begin this address. Therefore, trusting in God's grace, we confidently pray that together we will be able to strengthen the ecumenical life and witness in this country.

Councils of churches are an integral part of that life and witness, although they are a relatively new thing in the history of the church. Prior to the modern ecumenical movement, there were organizations of Christians dedicated to particular tasks; indeed, councils such as the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA (NCCC or NCCCUSA) have their roots in these service-oriented federations. But when churches commit themselves to one another for common service, witness, worship, and study, something new is happening – something that is beyond the isolating divisions of the past though not yet the full, visible communion that appears indistinctly before us. The ecumenical movement has helped us remember that we belong to one another thanks to actions of God that are prior to any decisions we may make about our belonging. Thus, when we gather as expressions of the church, our gathering is more than just utilitarian; it is an imperfect, provisional reflection of our belief that there is one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one body of Christ. Something new is taking place, even if our theological categories, inherited from the era of mutual exclusion, are not adequate to describe it.

This change in understanding can be easily seen in the history of the NCCC and its predecessor bodies, including the Federal Council of Churches. The Federal Council was formed in 1908 as a forum for consultation among thirty-three denominations and as an instrument for

cooperative social services. It was however, but one part of a complex scene that included numerous specialized ecumenical agencies. In 1941, a study conference recommended a single structure designed to integrate the work of these agencies in order "to give more visible and coherent expression to the growing fellowship among the churches." The NCCC emerged from this background in 1950, but for thirty years it lived with the rather bureaucratic self-description of being "a cooperative agency for the churches"—partly, I suspect, out of a now-questionable conviction that service unites while theology divides.

From my perspective, changes in the NCCC's Constitution that were approved in 1981 give far better expression to the new reality of our life together. According to the new language, the National Council is "a community of Christian communions" which commonly confess Jesus Christ as Savior and Lord and which "covenant with one another to manifest ever more fully the unity of the church." Our mutual commitment is thus more than a periodically re-negotiated contract; it is covenantal. It stems from our recognition, to quote Father John Meyendorff, "that closeness to Christ brings about also the closeness of Christians to each other"—not to an institution called the National Council of Churches, but to each other.

The question, of course, is how we hold ourselves accountable to these promises and how we best live them out. The Council has had considerable success, thanks be to God, in fostering cooperation among its members and in promoting social justice; but it is not clear that this has significantly altered our self-understanding or the way we live as the body of Christ. Ecumenism, I think it is fair to say, remains for most of our churches something tacked on to our "real work and identity." We are willing to cooperate, to the extent resources allow, through conciliar bodies, but we have difficulty seeing these bodies as "us" or as instruments in a movement toward deeper unity and renewal of the Church.

All of this is understandable but dangerous. The World Council's Faith and Order Commission puts the issue in the form of questions: "Do councils continue to serve the cause of unity, or do they rather institutionalize a limited degree of unity and, thus, perpetuate our divisions? Do they serve to go on to the next step on the road, or do they give the churches a good conscience by leaving them at a stage where they are not quite divided, but still far from united?"

Such reassessment of our conciliar life strikes me as timely, healthy, and inevitable. Our churches find themselves in a period of seismic shift, facing tensions that would likely snap purely human relationships. A new

generation of leaders is emerging, bringing a need to review and renew promises made decades ago. It is appropriate that we ask over and over: What is the nature and basis of our commitment to one another? How can we best express the spiritual reality that we sense among us? And how, as members of a council of churches, can we grow closer to Christ and, thus, to each other? With this brief history as context, I would like to comment on the relationship of the Orthodox to the NCCC, with attention to the most recent past.

To set the stage, let me quote from two official communications exchanged in 1991 between the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese and the NCCC. The first, a June 13 letter from Archbishop Iakovos to then NCCC President Fr. Leonid Kishkovsky, reads:

The extreme liberties taken in recent years by the National Council of the Churches of Christ, which identifies itself with the most liberal Protestant denominations, make our association and membership impossible.

The Synod of the Bishops of our Archdiocese in its meeting of June 6, 1991, after much painful thought decided to review and revise our participation and indeed our membership in the NCCC.

We suspend, therefore, any and all forms of participation until further notice.

The formal NCCC reply noted sadness at this action, but welcomed a review process and assured the Archbishop of our desire to be helpful in that process. Among other responses that the letter elicited was my June 24 statement to the NCCC staff, from which I quote here because it distills much of my thinking and feeling. It reads:

We want and need the full participation of the Orthodox churches in our life. To lose their involvement would diminish us and cause us to lose an important perspective on the faith. The Orthodox churches enrich our ecumenical life with their liturgies, with their deep and profound acceptance of the mystery of God and the Trinity, and with their faithfulness, which has been from age to age the same.

The unity of the Church is a high calling and we must strive to find ways to respect and dignify our diversity and yet preserve the bond of unity that holds us together as children of the one God of us all.

our broken human community. The form that unity will take is yet to be revealed to us, so let us stay open to the movement of the Spirit in our midst. Let us pray for the courage to love one another even as we have been loved.

In August, the Archdiocese was joined by the other members of the Standing Conference of the Canonical Orthodox Bishops in the Americas (SCOBA) in a discussion of relations in and to the NCCC, with all five bodies subsequently joining the action to suspend participation in the Council.

Months of dialogue followed, carried out with the aid of a team of six theologians appointed by Archbishop Iakovos and another team of six appointed by the NCCC. These months were a period of intensive effort – a crucible really in which elements of pain and separation were rendered. And in this crucible, my faith was deepened and purified. There is nothing in my life to which I can compare this experience except my encounters with Christians from the historic Black churches, which have been an important influence in my faith journey.

As we engaged in these serious conversations, knowing that their direction had implications for the future shape of the NCCC and indeed for the wider ecumenical movement, there were people all around the table whose wisdom and strength helped sustain our dialogue. One of these was Fr. John Meyendorff. When he died in July of 1992, I felt his passing as a personal tragedy. The gift of his friendship, deepened in that time of testing, will always be for me a living memory.

Against this background, imagine the joy that greeted the announcement in mid-March that the five Orthodox communions had decided to resume participation in the NCCC on a provisional basis. That joy is evident in my public statement of March 20, a substantial portion of which I quote here:

Greetings in the blessed name of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ! Just nine months ago I came before you to tell you that the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese had suspended their participation in the NCCCUSA and a mere two months later to tell you that they had been joined by the other four Eastern Orthodox churches who are members of the NCCC. This decision of the Standing Conference of the Canonical Orthodox Bishops in the Americas (SCOBA) was a painful and serious one for the whole ecumenical movement. I said at that time that without their presence in our midst we would be diminished. And it was so. Many of you have joined in prayer toward the day when we could rejoice in a reconciliation. Today is that day!

We give praise and thanksgiving to Almighty God who has given us the ministry of reconciliation and whose desire it is that sisters and brothers dwell together in unity.

Let me share with you from the SCOBA communiqué dated March 19. SCOBA recommends a provisional resumption of membership in the NCCC 'with a clear understanding of past difficulties and with hope for the future possibility of the reunion of all Christians.'

The nine months of suspension have been a time of critical self-examination engaged in by the heads of communions, the officers of the NCCC and key staff. I must express gratitude for the spirit of all those who have worked with us in these months and for members of the community who have consistently upheld our discussions in prayer. This self-examination led us to the conclusion that the NCCC is an important instrument in the search for visible unity but is in need of transformation. We alone cannot transform the ecumenical reality in the U.S.A. except by opening ourselves to the illumination of the Holy Spirit. Yet we must with God's guidance begin this crucial task.

In my one year as General Secretary few things have become as clear to me as the need for a fuller, deeper dialogue within and between our churches. We must strengthen our relationships within the community of communions. The events of our world around us as well as the events taking place within our own religious culture in the U.S.A. seem to me to have produced a particular moment in which old antagonisms and misunderstandings must be set aside in the name of and for the sake of fidelity to the Christian faith itself.

It is of utmost importance that we create a climate of trust for all of our future work and relationships.

This is indeed a moment of new beginning in which we look forward to a deeper sense of belonging among the communions. As in any important relationship, the partners desire to know each other and also to be understood. We rejoice in our commonalties, but we also ask if our partners recognize the particular and unique qualities that make us who we are. I would say that in the ecumenical community there is wide recognition that Orthodox communions have much to offer to those with whom they are in relationship. And there is, I believe, a desire to further explore the riches of Orthodoxy.

It is after all through the eyes and heart of the Orthodox church that the contemporary ecumenical movement approaches the Church of the earliest centuries. It is the treasure of Orthodoxy that it generously shares with other churches this knowledge of the doctrinal and liturgical musings of the band of Christ's followers in the years when Christianity was young.

Not all of Orthodoxy's gifts to the ecumenical movement are located in the historic past. Today in Eastern Europe and in the Middle East especially, Orthodoxy is the faith tradition of peoples in transition, upheaval, and , as in Serbia, outright conflict. Christian brothers and sisters in the ecumenical movement have come to an understanding of contemporary events in these parts of the world in the light of and by the expressiveness of Orthodox colleagues throughout the world.

Within the ecumenical context of the NCCCUSA, the Orthodox bring these unique gifts and, at the same time, they face special challenges in that the American tradition of free exercise and voluntarism has provided Orthodoxy a context unlike any it has known elsewhere in the world. Despite the considerable cultural and linguistic adjustments Orthodox have had to make on these shores, the vitality and diversity of Orthodox tradition has been preserved and strengthened. Of course, Father Florovsky, whom we honor on this occasion, played a key role in this. And who more than Alexander Schmemmann helped East and West to see in each other the face of God.

Not only has the vitality and diversity of Orthodox tradition been preserved and strengthened; it has been gift and grace to the whole ecumenical movement. What yearning, spiritually starved Protestant church would not benefit by a homily that speaks of love as crown and glory of the church, as the soul of *sobornost* and as an immeasurable source of communion. In the concept of *sobornost* is wholeness and unity, healing and integrity. For the compartmentalized Western mind, *sobornost* – as the intertwinement of unity, catholicity, and conciliarity – offers a concept of the church's being that has enormous potential for spiritual renewal.

In actual fact, our ecumenical life and its methodologies are not always the most congenial to Orthodox sentiments and practice. Stylistically our patterns owe more to Protestant, Western Europe culture. Yet, Orthodox maintain themselves and their perspectives in the midst of this alien process. Our recent agreements with SCOBA have underlined the importance of understanding such fundamental differences in perspective. And, as our recent SCOBA discussions have taught us, the "minority" status of Orthodox within the NCCC (and within U. S. culture) means that we must find

some specific ways to honor the integrity of Orthodox perspective amid ecumenical settings.

Ironically, at the November 1992 meeting of our General Board, three “mainline” Protestant churches found themselves in the circumstance that the Orthodox church know so well; that is, their opinion did not prevail. They lost the vote on the matter of the Universal Fellowship of Metropolitan Community Churches and its request for NCCC observer status. These three churches officially registered dissent – proving that “irascibility” is not the sole property of the Orthodox. The Protestants didn’t like being in the minority any more than the Orthodox do.

Today we are working together, with some success I believe, to understand the ways in which the NCCC can struggle with issues of faith and issues of social justice and contemporary ethics. Let me recount, to the best of my memory, a brief story from our recent dialogue that illustrates how we are coming to share our perspective in deeper ways.

The setting was the headquarters of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese in New York City. Our group was involved in a dialogue session when one of the NCCC team, Dr. James Cone of Union Theological Seminary, who is African American, happened to glance up at a beautiful painting of immigrants just arriving at Ellis Island. The artist gave us a view of the upper deck of an immigrant ship, its railing lined with eager people in the Old World dress straining forward to catch a glimpse of their new land. Addressing the Orthodox representatives, Dr. Cone said, “My guess is that for your people, this is virtually an icon. It is your story and that story is not a matter of sociology. It is a matter of faith.”

“My people came by ship too,” Dr. Cone continued, “but not on the deck. They came in the hold. And that for us is also an icon. Our struggle too is not about sociology. It is a matter of faith. What we need to do is somehow to join those faith struggles together.”

Dr. Cone’s observations recall for me a favorite quotation from the French-Canadian theologian Jean-Marie Tillard, who said, “The future of the unity of God’s church will increasingly be played out in the thick of human life, where the followers of Christ will strive to implant the divine gift of reconciliation in the wounded body of humanity, for that is what is at stake.”

In order to responsibly engage this compelling and yet daunting task the NCCC must be thoroughly grounded. Therefore, the Orthodox insistence that we take up the issue of ecclesiology, is, I believe, one of the greatest gifts of the Orthodox to the other member communions of the

NCCC. This gift may prove to be a gracious one as well, at a time when many Protestant communions are facing a crisis of identity.

Thus the recent discussions with the Orthodox Churches in this Council, which seemed so perilous for our life together, have in their own mysterious way provided a *kairos* for all of us in this Council – a *kairos* hopefully to reflect together, under God's guidance, on what it means ecclesiologically to be bound together in this Council. The final gift of this study may be a renewed and transformed council that is not only more responsibly informed theologically, but a council that is a more faithful witness and servant in the context of today's world. The study of ecclesiology can have an integrating effect on all our work, relating and informing everything that we are about and giving us a clarity that we badly need. This study is worthy of the efforts of all of us and our churches in the coming days.

The study is off to a good start, but we could not do it without Orthodox participation. This leads me to mention that the SCOPA discussions also were helpful in enabling Orthodox to look at their own need to strengthen their participation in the ecumenical movement. Perhaps the best idea to emerge was the notion of an Orthodox ombudsperson – a kind of pan-Orthodox ecumenical officer. The NCCC is eager to pursue this idea.

Lastly, the Orthodox in the US. and internationally have produced valued and honored ecumenical leaders – from the Ecumenical Patriarch, who at the turn of the century issued the call which led finally to the establishment of the World Council of Churches, to those of our own day. In every aspect of ecumenical life there have been Orthodox leaders: Father Florovsky, who helped a whole continent to understand the history of his beloved Orthodox church, Nikos Nissiotis, Alexander Schmemmann, Ian Bria, and George Tsetsis are but a few of the great Orthodox ecumenists. There is His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos, whose witness as he stood beside Martin Luther King, Jr., set an important American example in ecumenical witness. We remember Fr. John Meyendorff, who was until his last days a trusted friend of the ecumenical movement. And on and on we could go, not forgetting Fr. Leonid Kishkovsky, the first Orthodox President of NCCC. We trust he will not be the last. I challenge this community to teach your young the doctrine of Christian unity and then send them to us that they might labor in the ecumenical vineyard.

I want to add a very personal word to these reflections on the relationship of the Orthodox and other communions in the NCCC. Throughout my many years of participation in the NCCC, including years of service on the

General Board representing my communion, I experienced that relationship as one of family – a primary relationship that helps to define who we are. Now, as General Secretary, I say that we cannot afford to lose one member of the ecumenical family and I pledge to do all in my power to that end. I could not bear to see this family diminished – certainly not on my watch. Not if I can help it.

In closing I pray: May the Holy Spirit of unity sustain our fellowship and opening towards *sobornost*; comfort us in pain, disturb us when we are satisfied to remain in our divisions, lead us to repentance, and grant us joy when our communion flourishes.

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With its direct and colorful language and dramatic structure, the Kontakion is a popular form, and this quality is faithfully preserved in the present translation. While manifestly grounded in substantial scholarship, the notes are carefully pitched so as to be illuminating but not daunting for the general reader. Everything about this presentation of the Kontakia invites its use as a spiritual resource. The introduction refers to Romanos' "confident use of what is sometimes called allegory as way of setting the Christian mystery against the background of the 'many and various ways' in which 'God spoke of old to our fathers by the prophets' (Heb. 1:1)" (p. xix). The present translation offers great potential for bringing this patristic understanding to bear on contemporary study of Scripture at personal and parish level.

Elizabeth Theokritoff

The Orthodox Church in the World Council of Churches: Towards the Future. By Todor Sabev, (Geneva: WCC and Bialystok: Syndesmos) 100 pp. n.d.

The WCC is currently going through a process of consultations on its self-understanding and priorities. The present study is an Orthodox contribution to this process, intended "to review the long-standing Orthodox ecumenical commitment, to assess the present situation and its challenges, to envisage the role of the WCC and to indicate prospects for a vital Orthodox contribution within it" (p. 7). Aimed primarily at Orthodox theologians and ecumenical workers, it is intended to be accessible also to a wider audience.

Underlining that visible church unity is a concern central to Orthodoxy, Prof. Sabev gives a balanced review of the history of Orthodox ecumenical involvement, including the recently-discovered writings of a Russian bishop who in the 1850s was advocating an "ecumenical council" of the main Christian traditions.

Looking to the future, Professor Sabev discusses such delicate issues as the "ecclesiological neutrality" of the WCC, "contextual hermeneutics" and interfaith dialogue. As "the key image for a rearticulated ecumenical vision", he puts forward "the dynamic biblical notion of koinonia" (p. 33) - a concept he discusses in some detail, while acknowledging the problem of distinguishing "imperfect fellowship" from "full communion."

Those unfamiliar with the language and concerns of the WCC may find much of the book heavy going, but they will at least get a sense of ecumenism as balancing act—as illustrated by the wry comment that “[f]rom the outset most Orthodox have characterized the ecumenical movement as a Protestant undertaking... Only recently have Orthodox representatives... grasped that there are also criticisms from the other side that the WCC is too oriented towards the catholic tradition...” (p. 37). The last two chapters of the book are of more general interest, as dealing more broadly with Orthodox attitudes to ecumenism. The author does not hide the difficulties, admitting that “there is no unanimity... about the boundaries of the church, the heresies of today or the practice of baptism or re-baptism” (p. 56) *inter alia*. He presents serious arguments in favor of the ecumenical position. His historical survey of church life makes it clear that the standard of the “undivided Church of the seven Ecumenical Councils” (p. 57) cannot be applied without qualification. He tackles such delicate questions as the notion of a “hierarchy of truths,” the interpretation of canons forbidding prayer with heretics and the extent to which “economy” can be applied in relations with other Christians; much of what he has to say is distinctly controversial.

Obviously Professor Sabev’s long ecumenical experience has genuinely convinced him that great ecumenical strides can be taken without impairing the Orthodox faith; how far he makes a case convincing to skeptics is quite another matter. While he ends with a call for the Orthodox Churches to “be ready for a more dynamic contribution and leading role” in the WCC (p. 99), a more realistic hope might be that, by placing on the table the cards of Orthodox ecumenism, he will at least succeed in promoting intra-Orthodox discussion.

Elizabeth Theokritoff

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The Orthodox Presence in the Ecumenical Movement: An Ecumenical Assessment

WILLIAM G. RUSCH

At the outset of this brief presentation, I want to thank you for the invitation to be part of this significant program, which very appropriately honors Father Georges Vasilievich Florovsky. I cannot claim a close personal relationship with Fr. Georges, although I did know him, and one of my first recollections of him is in a cassock with a camera over his neck in an animated discussion with Jaroslav Pelikan on the High Street of Oxford during a Patristic Congress. He was pulled by that Lutheran arm out of the way of an oncoming bus. You see Orthodoxy does owe some small debts to Lutheranism!

My own indebtedness to Fr. Georges is considerable for his writings and extensive contributions to Faith and Order, the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., and the World Council of Churches. It is not an exaggeration to state that without him we may never have had that remarkable document, the Toronto Statement. Thus my gratitude to you today is not perfunctory, but profuse. You have allowed me to be part of an occasion that not only celebrates this ecumenical pioneer and profound Orthodox Christian, but raises questions of grave consequence for the ecumenical movement.

My specific assignment is to give an ecumenical appraisal of Orthodox participation in the ecumenical movement. You have invited me, as an outsider, to perform this task, although I hope that I can claim a real *sympatheia* with Orthodoxy, in the sense that Gregory the Theologian used that word. Your invitation is both gracious and gallant, for you are asking a non-Orthodox to critique your performance.

Before I am reckless enough to do this, I must clarify a few points to

avoid any misunderstanding and to give you a means to evaluate my comments. You should know three things: 1) what I am attempting to do here, 2) how I understand my own Christian tradition, and 3) how I view the ecumenical movement.

1) I am going to endeavor in the deepest sense of the Scriptural phrase “to speak the truth in love,” at least as I perceive it. A number of these comments, both the positive and the negative, I would, and should, make about my own church. If you are the focus of my remarks, it is only because you have requested that I do it. But the motivation for what I say is true love and respect.

2) I speak to you as a confessional Lutheran, and this must influence how I regard the modern ecumenical movement.¹ My tradition was jointly responsible for the momentous split in the Western church in the sixteenth century, a chasm that I believe can only be justified because the very truth of the Christian message, the gospel, the *kerygma*, was at stake. Yet the foundational documents of Lutheranism, the Lutheran Confessions, and especially the Augsburg Confession (whose Greek text Fr. Florovsky scrutinized with his scholarly care²), articulate the great yearning for the unity of the Church, responsibility for the division, and a commitment under God’s Holy Spirit to restore that oneness for which the Lord of the Church prayed. For confessional Lutherans these positions are not outmoded or expedient. They come from the gospel itself. They were, as recently as 1991, confirmed by the *Evangelical Lutheran Church in America*.³ To quote a Lutheran, it is “here that I stand.”

3) I believe that properly understood ecumenism is first and foremost a unity issue. This unity is God’s gift in the life of the Church under Christ and the Holy Spirit. Ecumenism is the experience and on-going task of expressing this unity. Thus for me the center of the modern ecumenical movement is the unity of the Christian church.⁴

I have no difficulty with the three descriptions of the ecumenical movement that are contained in the introduction to the dictionary of the Ecumenical Movement: 1) the ecumenical movement has been a search for unity in the truth as it is found in Jesus and into which the Holy Spirit leads. Thus it is not creating a super-orthodoxy uniformly formulated or a

¹ I have described this point at greater length in William G. Rusch, *Ecumenism: A Movement toward Church Unity* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985) esp. 1-18.

² George V. Florovsky, “The Greek Version of the Augsburg Confession,” in *Christianity and Culture*, Collected Works of Georges Florovsky (Belmont, MA: Norland 1974) II 157-160.

³ *Ecumenism: The Vision of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America*, (Chicago: The Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, 1991).

⁴ Rusch, *ibid.*, ix.

doctrinal compromise, or an indifferentism. 2) The ecumenical movement has embodied a search for the will of God in every area of life and work. Thus it is neither a pretentious building of the kingdom, nor a quietism. 3) The ecumenical movement has sought to discern, proclaim, and participate in the Triune God's eternal and constant purpose for humankind and the mission of God to the world. Thus it is neither a matter of weakening the witness to Jesus Christ nor refusing truths that can be found outside the institutions of Christianity.⁵

My premise is not to relegate mission, service to a broken world and justice—the so-called new church-dividing issues—to the periphery of concern. Ultimately, any division between unity and mission is artificial and unacceptable. But my understanding and evaluation of the ecumenical movement, and churches which participate in it, are rooted in the conviction: its *raison d'être* is to call the churches under the guidance of the Triune God to reflect visibly that unity, which paradoxically at the same time is both God's gift to us and our task.

Although the modern ecumenical movement is conveniently dated from 1910 and the great missionary conference in Edinburgh, clearly before this time Orthodox Christians and Orthodox churches were active in attempts to heal earlier divisions. This story of personalities and texts from the earliest days of ecumenical involvement until the present has been told more than once, and need not be repeated here. One of Fr. Georges' essays portrays this history in an impressive manner.⁶

Starting with the ecumenical conferences of the 1920's and continuing until 1948 and the establishment of the World Council of Churches, Orthodox participation continued and grew in significance. Fr. Florovsky exemplified this presence. In 1961 at the New Delhi Assembly of the World Council, official and formal Orthodox participation in the ecumenical movement at the international level grew substantially.⁷

⁵ N. Lossky, J. Miguez Bonino, T. Stransky, G. Wainwright, and P. Webb, eds., *Dictionary of the Ecumenical Movement* (Geneva: World Council of Churches. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1991) xii-xiii.

⁶ Georges Florovsky, "The Orthodox Churches and the Ecumenical Movement Prior to 1910," and Nicholas Zernov, "The Eastern Churches and the Ecumenical Movement in the Twentieth Century," in Ruth Rouse and Stephen Charles Neill, eds., *A History of the Ecumenical Movement, 1948-1968*, Vol. 2 (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1970) 287-309; Vasil T. Istavridis, "The Ecumenicity of Orthodoxy," *Ecumenical Review* 32:2 (April, 1977) 182-195; and Ion Bria, "The Eastern Orthodox in the Ecumenical Movement," *Ecumenical Review* 38:2 (April, 1986) 216-227.

⁷ See Ion Bria, *The Sense of Ecumenical Tradition: The Ecumenical Witness and Vision of the Orthodox* (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1991) 13-14 for information and documentation.

Now the vast majority of Orthodox churches are engaged in the ecumenical movement, not just at the international level, and not just in conciliar ecumenism. The many bilaterals involving Orthodox churches disclose the range of this ecumenical commitment. Orthodox Church representatives are not only active in the Faith and Order dimension of ecumenism, but in many of its other aspects.

During this time of increased Orthodox participation, however we should note that the ecumenical movement itself was going through its own history. In the immediate years after 1948, the ecumenical movement was preoccupied with a comparison of historical identities, theological methods, and even its self-understanding. By the late 1960's and early 1970's, the ecumenical movement had shifted its interest to common witness in a divided world, solidarity with peoples struggling for justice, peace, and liberation. Unity became solidarity for many.

Both periods created their own problems for the Orthodox and others: in the first periods a dualism between visible and invisible, and in the second, the relationship between doctrinal theology and contextual theology. As we evaluate Orthodox participation in the ecumenical movement, this unfolding history must be kept in mind.

We should proceed by noting the numerous benefits Orthodoxy has shared with the ecumenical movement. Orthodoxy has kept before the divided churches of the world their common basis in Scripture and the Tradition, including the definitions of the seven ecumenical councils; the centrality of the incarnation with its ethical implications; the doctrine of the Trinity and its insights into *koinonia*; an emphasis on the eucharist and the nature of eucharistic fellowship; and understanding of the church, the people of God, as not merely a sociological group but the historical projection of the apostolic community with an active involvement of the laity; a comprehension of the church's mission; a stress on pneumatology which results in an attitude of humility about the church; an awareness of doxology so that theology is more than academic theology but must be seen in the context of the liturgical community, rooted in the experiences of the saints and not only in the decisions of a magisterium; and last, but by no means least, the constant insistence that the restoration of Christian unity is pivotal for ecumenism.

If these are your offerings, and no one would deny their considerable worth, you have probably inquired on more than one occasion how well they have been received. One litmus test I would suggest is a quick examination of the impact of Orthodox perspectives on the various assemblies of

the World Council of Churches. This review need not be lengthy to make its point. From the statement on proselytism in 1961 at New Delhi and the new trinitarian basis of the World Council at the same assembly, to *Baptist, Eucharist and Ministry* at Lima in 1982, and on to the statement "The Unity of the Churches as *Koinonia*: Gift and Calling" at Canberra in 1991 the influence of insights and understandings promoted by the Orthodox is clear and unequivocal. It is quite true that documents are not the whole story, although they should not be minimized, and more might be hoped for in terms of acceptance of some of these contributions. Nevertheless, the extent and degree of acceptance of Orthodox participation are obvious for all to see.

Why then does Orthodox involvement in the ecumenical movement at times appear problematical, not only for the Orthodox, but for others committed to unity of the church? I suspect that at least two sets of perceptions are operative here. Let me begin with views of the Orthodox by others and then turn to views of the others by Orthodox.

Sometimes others see official Orthodox participation as lukewarm and hesitant. Key Orthodox leadership is absent and/or not involved in significant ways. Financial support for the ecumenical enterprise is low or even non-existent. In my opinion, Orthodoxy has still to communicate its meaning to the non-Orthodox world. The empirical reality of the witness and endurance of Orthodoxy has escaped the attention of many of your ecumenical partners. Too often the appeal to the undivided church seems an invitation into a museum rather than a living encounter with lively Tradition that includes saints and martyrs. Your participation is hampered at times by definition of vocabulary and concepts, but it is often a deeper issue that is at stake. Your stress of eucharistic fellowship and on unity in faith as a primary condition for the reunion of churches is viewed as at odds with struggles for justice, peace, and the place of women in society.

All Christians live with paradoxes, but your paradox is especially challenging for ecumenists. In a special sense the Orthodox believe that the Orthodox church is the church of Jesus Christ on earth. This view seems to hold little room for ecumenical advance, unless it is in the sense of "come and join us." Yet leading Orthodox thinkers have asserted throughout the centuries that the church of Christ is not an institution but a new life in Christ and with Christ, moved by the Spirit. These same teachers have maintained that Orthodoxy is true to itself when it confesses that it does not know the limits of the church of Christ. I am sure that you can see the conundrum for many who want to understand Orthodoxy better.

Now it is certainly dangerous, if not foolhardy, for me, non-Orthodox, to tell you, Orthodox, how you see others. Thus I am going to be extremely brief, but I think that I can identify a few of your impressions that make your ecumenical involvement awkward. You fear that the commitment to the unity of the church has been marginalized, if not lost, or the degree to which it is present, it is understood exclusively as solidarity with the underprivileged. It seems that certain social agendas have been promoted at the expense of the essential marks of Christianity. Feminism with legitimate concerns about the place of women in society and the church has been encouraged to go to excessive lengths. You see churches of the Reformation as accepting confessional plurality as normal and surrendering the insights of the first apostolic experience.

It is not for me to suggest to you the degree to which these impressions are accurate or valid. Frankly I think that with some you are identifying chronic problems in the ecumenical movement, and with others you have located places where future dialogue must be conducted to correct misunderstandings. My only point here is that from both the non-Orthodox and Orthodox perspectives there are those things that make the ecumenical partnership incommensurable.

Yet certainly in this process we can agree that the Orthodox have not only contributed but collected. The Orthodox have been challenged by the ecumenical movement to look beyond themselves to the needs of the world and to see the implications of the world situation in the local context. The close association between the search for visible unity and the struggles for human liberation, justice, and life is clearer. You have been given a new framework for discussing the confession of the apostolic faith in contemporary terms and for clarification of essential concepts. Orthodox can see their own spirituality now from a perspective other than their own and acknowledge the reality and signs of the Spirit in the faith and life of others who claim the name of Christ. Likewise there is an increased recognition of the paradoxical character of the church and its inability to embody adequately its experience.

Thus if both Orthodoxy and the ecumenical movement have been enriched by this relationship, what can be done in the future to enhance the appreciation of your gifts and of your understanding of the discomfort, by some, of the Orthodox role in the movement? I will make only a few proposals here.

Help your ecumenical partners to comprehend better the paradox that the Orthodox church is the church of Jesus Christ on earth and that Ortho-

dox do not claim to know the limits of the church. You have the resources to do this in thinkers like Sergius Bulgakov, Georges Florovsky, John Zizioulas, John Meyendorff and Vladimir Lossky.

Assist others in the ecumenical movement to understand Orthodox teaching about the role and place of women in society and the church. Here the letter of Patriarch Dimitrios (of blessed memory) to the consultation in Rhodes is helpful.⁸ Thus it is possible to divide the question of the status of women from the question of the ordination of women. On this latter point, we must agree there is no ecumenical consensus. *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry* is accurate. But the question of the ordination of women will never be "solved" in the ecumenical movement in isolation from questions about teaching authority, the church, and the Tradition. We may find that, for the foreseeable future, many of us in the ecumenical movement will see ourselves in different kinds of churches, but churches that can enjoy a certain level of *koinonia*.⁹ If this ever occurs, difficult decisions will be required not only of the Orthodox but many others.

Consider the diaspora a unique opportunity for the encounter and exchange of Christian ideas and experiences. Certainly this is taking place, as Holy Cross itself bears witness. But in many places until now opportunities have been missed by the Orthodox to become effective partners with other churches in the ecumenical life and mission. This description is still accurate to some extent in the United States.

Help your ecumenical partners by reflection from the Orthodox perspective about handing on the Tradition in a post-Constantinian age. It is such a time for all of us, and your insights can be invaluable. Whether we all use the term, "The Tradition," or not, all churches are confronted with the responsibility to share and pass on the faith in a largely secular and indifferent, if not at times hostile, society.

Closely related is the topic of reception of the faith and new ecumenical insights. As churches with long histories of reception, assist others to reflect upon reception among divided churches and in an ecumenical age. We will all profit in the process.¹⁰

From these remarks, it should be clear that for me the Orthodox have brought much and gained much by their participation in the ecumenical movement. The modern ecumenical movement could not be envisaged

⁸ Gennadios Limouris, ed., *The Place of Women in the Orthodox Church and the Question of the Ordination of Women* (Katerini, Greece: "Tertios" Publications, 1992) 17-19.

⁹ For a fuller discussion of this suggestion, see William G. Rusch, "A Response to the Report of Archbishop Arm Kesishian," *Mid-stream* 32:1 (January, 1993) 51-53.

¹⁰ For further comments on this topic, see William G. Rusch, *Reception: An Ecumenical Opportunity* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988) esp. 55-78.

without Orthodox involvement. Obviously the Orthodox have made the ecumenical journey the more arduous and formidable. But without the Orthodox, the pilgrimage would not be worth the undertaking, for the one holy catholic and apostolic church would not be the destination.

As Visser 't Hooft declared about New Delhi, "Their [the Orthodox] joining must be considered as a major event in the history of the ecumenical movement. In this way a tremendous opportunity is offered to us, the opportunity to ensure that a real spiritual dialogue shall take place between the eastern churches and the churches which have their origin in the west. If we accept this opportunity, our ecumenical task will not become easier, but we shall surely be greatly enriched."¹¹

¹¹ See, W. Visser 't Hooft, "The Calling of the World Council of Churches," *Ecumenical Review* 14:1 (January, 1962) 222.

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Documentation: Commentary—The Political Dimension of the Estonian Church Issue*

GEORGE TSETISIS

It is well known that the reactivation of the autonomous status of the Orthodox Church of Estonia by the Ecumenical Patriarchate prompted the Patriarchate of Moscow to decide to cease commemorating the name of the Ecumenical Patriarch during liturgical services. The Church of Russia, however, did not stop with this decision. It proceeded to some other actions and directions accusing Constantinople, as it should not have, of anticanonical actions by portraying it as a divisive force within the Orthodox body.

One of these actions was the demonstration walk organized on Saturday, March 16, 1996, by the Russian Archbishop of Tallin Cornelius and the "Union of Russian Citizens of Estonia."

The slogans projected during that walk along with the comments made within its framework were nothing but baseless talk, with the clear aim of vilifying the authority of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. It was an intentional effort to mislead public opinion. Thus, for example, the walk was characterized by people associated with Archbishop Cornelius as "the triumph of good against evil" and as "a walk for the defense of Orthodoxy," since, according to their own words, "subjection to the jurisdiction of Constantinople would mean embracing a new form of religion, the loss of the sanctity of the holy churches and the transformation of the holy icons into formless empty pieces of wood." During the walk, Archbishop Cornelius stated that "the Estonian Church in exile" is an "unesteemed"

*From *ΕΝΗΜΕΡΩΣΙΣ*, a publication of the Permanent Representation of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople at the World Council of Churches (IB-1996/4, pp. 1-3). Translated and used with permission.

claimant of legitimacy and of Church property, while, conversely, the Archdiocese of the Patriarchate of Moscow under him "is the true successor of the Orthodox Church that had flourished during the short period of the Estonian independence in the interwar years." Even more baseless were the comments of a close co-worker of Archbishop Cornelius, who with a dose of impermissible egocentrism questioned even the Orthodoxy of the Estonians, asserting that "the Orthodox in Estonia follow an erroneous faith."

Many ecclesial and political sources in Europe, observing for quite some time Church developments in Estonia, stated without any hesitation that the Church crisis of Estonia is of a political, rather than of an ecclesiastical or pastoral nature. The same sources also stated that this multifaceted mobilization of the Church of Russia was functioning within the Kremlin's general policy whose goal it is not to lose control of the Baltic area, after the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the independence of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

Recent developments in Moscow, with the forthcoming presidential elections in June in the background, confirm what was said or rumored until now, revealing thus the political dimension of the actions of the Patriarchate of Moscow in Estonia. Let me explain myself.

First, on March 7, 1996 came the announcement from Presidents Yeltsin and Lucashenko that Russia and Belarus were going to unite in the very near future. This was materialized in an outstanding manner, on April 2, by the signing of a treaty in the presence of the Patriarch of Moscow Alexy. According to political science specialists, however, this union was not dictated by economic or developmental reasons. The reasons are geopolitical and aim at the direct access of Russia to the Baltic area, especially to its connection with the naval base of Kaliningrad, which, as is known, has no borders with the Russian Federation, but is a pocket between Lithuania and Poland.

Then, on March 15 came the decision of the Russian Duma, with 252 votes in favor, 33 against and 5 abstentions, which ratified the legitimacy of the March 17, 1991 referendum. It is well known that this referendum provided official approval for the preservation of the boundaries of the Soviet Union. This means that the Russian Duma, by rejecting the Belovesk agreements of December 1991, which established the Commonwealth of Independent States in the place of the dissolved Soviet Union, proclaimed that at least legally the Soviet Union was not abolished, but continues to exist.

In conjunction with the above decision, the Russian Duma on March 19 approved a new policy concerning ethnicity, based on the concept of "the unity of the Russian element" and aiming at the protection of the interests and political rights of the Russian citizens living in the former Soviet Union countries.

Parallel to these clear decisions of the Russian Duma, there were also some attempts to destabilize the Baltic countries, especially Estonia and Latvia, as seen in statements of Abdullah Mikitayev, an advisor of Boris Yeltsin and Chairman of the Committee on Citizenship Affairs. More specifically, Mikitayev, on the eve of this decision by the Russian Duma, stated that Russia does not exclude the possibility of proposing "autonomous areas" for the Russian-speaking people of Estonia and Latvia, in order to secure the political rights of "the indigenous Russians" living in those Baltic countries.

Finally, Gennady Zyuganov, Communist Party candidate in the upcoming presidential elections, added to the above his own competitive bid, stating that if he is elected, he will nullify the international agreements of Russia. He also added that his party is worried about that fate of the Russian minority in Estonia to cut every tie that reminded them of their country's recent tragic past which could potentially contribute to the creation of a climate of uncertainty and insecurity.

It is characteristic that the obvious political maneuvering of the Patriarchate of Moscow in Estonia—under the cover of Church legality and pastoral care, along with the association of some of its important members with extreme right or left wing circles that envision the revival of the Czarist Soviet "empire"—did not pass unnoticed in the West, even among the circles that are friendly toward the Orthodox Church of Russia.

Thus, Deacon Peter Scorer, a faculty member of the University of Exeter and clergyman of the diocese of the Patriarchate of Moscow in England, in an article that was published on March 17 in *The Guardian*, not only approved of the action of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Estonia, but also accused his Church of a nostalgia for the Soviet past and of not having the courage to face the new realities in Russia. "Throughout this approach," the above cleric states, "the Patriarchate of Moscow runs the risk of isolation, marginalization and of becoming a prey to the extreme nationalistic circles of Russia."

It must be clearly stated that the "enemies" of Moscow are not to be found in Constantinople, Estonia or Finland. The Church of Russia is to-

day undermined by internal enemies. She is in immediate danger more from uncontrollable centrifugal movements that are manifest within her body, as well as from heresies, such as "The Mother of God Group" or "The White Brothers," that have sprung up from within its own body, rather than from any outside action. For this reason and for the good of Orthodoxy in Russia, it would be better if the Patriarchate of Moscow would stop its expansionist tendencies around the world and focus only on the tremendous, multi-faced pastoral and social needs of Russian society to-day. That's what it should do, if it doesn't want "to miss the train" for a second time in the twentieth century.

Translated by Dr. A. Michopoulos

An Afterword

Following the resolution of the Estonian conflict and the restoration of ecclesiastical relations, Fr. Tsetsis submitted the following addendum to his comments:

The resolution on May 16, 1996 of the Estonian ecclesiastical problem, on the basis of the solution which had been proposed a year before by the Ecumenical Patriarchate and which had been categorically rejected by the Patriarchate of Moscow until then, must be greeted with special joy. It is a solution based on "canonical economy," and was arrived at for the sake of granting peace to the Church of Estonia, but primarily for the sake of Pan-Orthodox unity, as we stand at the vestibule of the third Christian millennium. Let us hope that Constantinople and Moscow, will be able undistractedly from now on to dedicate themselves to the role assigned to them by history, for the good of Orthodoxy and for the glory of God.

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The World Council of Churches and the Ecumenical Movement: Theological Contribution and Orthodox Witness

GENNADIOS LIMOURIS

FLOROVSKY WITHIN THE ECUMENICAL "ETERNALS"

The Danish philosopher and theologian Søren Kierkegaard has written that to live in this world means to be tested: "δοκιμάζειν."¹ Life is a perpetual examination under God's grace and love. Even in Christ's life there is the testing of his obedience, but He is the only one whose life becomes the test and the model of all other lives. We are always thinking and talking about our achievements, either social, political, theological or ecumenical; however, that is only making ourselves important and significant to this world. But this is a kind of illusion and human utopia. It is a test of reality. In this context the *raison d'être* of such a test is to recall our ecumenical memory and to think of one of ours who had tested his life for his Orthodox Church and for the Christian witness and commitment to the ecumenical movement, for almost half a century: Father Georges Vasilievich Florovsky.

It was said twenty years ago that the ecumenical movement had three generations of leaders: the pioneers, the architects, and the builders.² To this trichotomic axiom, we would like to add a fourth: "the eternalists." In a unique way Fr. Georges Florovsky³ belongs to all four. He was, among

¹ Søren Kierkegaard, *Einübung im Christentum*

² By J. McCord in D. Neuman and M. Schatkin, *The Heritage of the Early Church: Essays in Honor of the V Rev G. V. Florovsky*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 195 (Rome 1973)

³ For a complete biographical note on G. Florovsky—at least until 1965—see the excellent historicographical panorama and unique contribution, with much personal information on his life and his theological as well as ecumenical involvement, by George H. Williams, "Georges Vasilievich Florovsky: His American Career (1948-1965)," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 9.1 (1965) 7-107

others, a pioneer in relating the great Eastern Orthodox Tradition to the Western Churches, often standing as a real interpreter of its patristic richness and meaning. He was an architect who participated in the foundation and later in formation of the World Council of Churches. He was a builder, a member of the Commission of Faith and Order, where he constantly bore witness, with his deepest commitment to the Truth in Jesus Christ and his Church, the great Church of the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

The debt owed by this generation to Fr. Florovsky is incalculable. It has been noted that he was an eminent Church historian. He taught generations of historians who are now the leading experts in the cultural history of the Old Russia. A genius and distinguished patristic theologian – the greatest of this century – he had insisted on the present's reckoning with the faith of the Church Fathers and had widened the scope of catholicity for modern scholars and church members. As noted by Prof. George Williams, he was a professional theological educator. He, as Dean at St. Vladimir's Theological Seminary and Professor at Princeton and Harvard Universities, had exacting standards for the clergy, challenging generations of romantics to worship and praise God with their minds as well as with their hearts, souls and strength. He contended that the priesthood “Ἱερωσύνη” is primarily a human-divine vocation which, in the modern world also, must continue to be a learned profession. An early ecumenist, he had sought the unity of the Church – not being content to remain aloof – as is still presented in our days – in an undivided tradition, but actively engaged in dialogue with other traditions, Christian communions and confessional denominations.

He was a rare and choice spirit, with a difficult personal character but with a lovely open heart, who, throughout his career and with the help of his wife, was able to elicit and maintain strong loyalties. His students responded to that by becoming warm friends and grateful disciples. Almost twenty years ago, I was present among them, one of his very close, intimate and spiritual disciples by God's grace and will.

FLOROVSKY'S ECUMENICAL REVOLUTION: RETURN TO THE TRADITION OF THE FATHERS

If there is any central doctrinal concern that directs and unites Fr. Florovsky's theological thought, it is undoubtedly that of the “Ecclesia,” the Church. His contribution to the ecumenical family primarily concentrated on Orthodox ecclesiology which he systematically interpreted and

elaborated through his participation in and delivery of lectures at many ecumenical gatherings, including Assemblies and World Conferences of the World Council of Churches and of the Faith and Order Commission in particular.

Precisely at this point in our history there exists a most creative challenge, not only for Protestantism and Roman Catholicism, but also for Orthodoxy. It is the ecclesiology of the “Una Sancta,”⁴ the Catholic and Apostolic Church of Christ, which is not a mere theological concept, but emphatically it is a historical reality existing in space and time with a definite eschatological dimension, and also a living experience by participation in its ecclesial and sacramental life, witness, and mission.

Fr. Florovsky always started his historical and theological analysis by pointing out the close relationship between Eastern and Western Christendom. The history of the literary and theological relations between these two completely different worlds, but at the same time complementary to one another, is one of the most fruitful – as Prof. J. Pelikan affirms – but also one of the most neglected, chapters in intellectual history. Fr. Florovsky wrote the following forty-five years ago:

Has Eastern Orthodoxy really anything to offer to the West? Or should such an offer not simply be disregarded and sharply declined as an ‘exotic’ and dangerous intrusion upon the sacred ground of the Western Christendom? Have we anything to learn from this alien and foreign world? We Westerners, by birth or by adoption.⁵

These prophetic works are still very much alive today. In any case, both worlds, the Christian West, and the Christian East, have the same ancestry and the same historical roots; they are successors to the same parental society, Hellenic and Roman. For several centuries the two Christian worlds, the East and the West, had been united in theology under the uncontested lead of the Greek Fathers and Masters. It would be inexact to consider them simply as parallel developments because parallel lines have no common points, and our two societies obviously have at least one point in common, i.e., their starting point. They are obviously offspring of the same root. And again, in the course of their history, they have had rather numerous points of contact, or collision, or conflict. One may call them sister-civilizations.

Meanwhile, the main feature, or rather, the major tragedy of European

⁴Georges Florovsky, “Confessional Loyalty in the Ecumenical Movement,” *Intercommunion* (New York, 1952) 204-205.

⁵Georges Florovsky, “The Legacy and the Task of Orthodox Theology,” *Anglican Theological Review* 31:2 (1949) 65ff.

history, or actually of Christianity's history, was that these two Christian societies broke away from each other. The historian runs a heavy risk of misconceiving and misconstruing the history of either society if he dares to ignore this basic fact because these histories are neither self-explanatory nor intelligible when taken separately. Both societies are but fragments of a disrupted world and they belong together despite the Schism. Thus, only in perspective of this Christian disruption is the history both of the East and the West truly intelligible. Because as F. von Hügel said:

Christianity...is not simply a doctrine of certain laws and principles of the spiritual life...the central conviction and doctrine of Christianity is the real prevenience and condescension of the real God...is not a simple idea, but a solid fact; not something that so universally ought to happen, that in fact it never happens at all...Christianity cannot really do without this most humble seeming assurance of sheer happenedness...⁶

Thus, Christendom was once united, and in the field of theology, disruption meant a disintegration of Christian Tradition.

Western theology up to St. Augustine was basically Greek, though in Latin dress; he was deeply hellenistic in mind although he could not read Greek himself. St. Hilary, St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, were all interpreters of the Greek tradition. Tertullian also fits into the same Hellenistic frame. And then doom comes over the West. There was a general eclipse and decay of civilization in the West just after Augustine. The Greek language was almost completely forgotten, even by scholars, historians and theologians. Little of the Greek patristic heritage was available in Latin translation, and only very few had access to the original texts and sources. It is true Greek influence was still strongly felt even in the darkest ages, but it was, an anonymous influence for the most part.

In contrast, without any doubt, St. John of Damascus was the leading authority during the whole scholastic period, and Pseudo-Dionysius exercised and unparalleled mystical theology. Any oversimplification of the matter needs to be avoided.

In Fr. Florovsky's thinking one never finds a precise definition of the Church, for, as a matter of fact, there is not any one definition which may claim to have any authorized doctrinal authority. Fr. Florovsky understands the Church as a given fact, as a mystery of God, as a reality which is seen rather than an object which is analyzed and studied. Fr. Sergius Bulgakov, another preeminent Russian theological mind of the 20th century, said on this subject: "Come and see. The Church is understood only by experi-

⁶F. von Hügel, *Essays and Addresses on the Philosophy of Religion*, Second series (Dent, 1926) 107-108.

ence, by grace, by participation in its life.”⁷ And what is most precious in the Fathers is precisely this whole vision, this perspective of the purpose of God in which the mystery of the Church is envisaged, but this has unfortunately been obscured in later times. People have then felt a pressing need for formal definitions.

Under these given historical conditions, people in the West rightly insisted on the visibility of the Church and described it as a “societas,” a “congregatio,” or a “Gemeinschaft,” precisely because this point was in the past the crux of the controversy between the two worlds, the Christian West and East. But for Fr. Florovsky it was very natural that these definitions should be shown to be inadequate and even illusory when the spiritual climate had changed. This had happened in the Western world with the theological revival of the 19th century, an epoch which is called “romantic,” and which was very dear to Fr. Florovsky’s thought, because he had grown up and was educated in the midst of that historical period.

This romantic epoch brought along a broadening of the spiritual and philosophical horizon, thanks to which the organic nature of the Church became publicly visible. Here one should refer to J. A. Möhler, the German theologian, and the whole Catholic school of Tübingen. In the East, the movement for revision began with a programmatic essay by Khomiakov on “The One Church,” which was probably inspired by Möhler. But well before Khomiakov, the great Metropolitan Philaret of Moscow, with greater insight and authority, became an inexhaustible source of vision and life with his *Sermons*.⁸ Later, the liturgical revival drew from it other invigorating promptings. Such a master of eucharistic piety was, for example, the famous Fr. John of Kronstadt in the old Russia (1909) who shed a great deal of light upon the mystery of Church.⁹

Many Roman Catholics as well as Orthodox theologians have openly stated during the last decades that the Church itself has not yet defined its essence and its own nature. Robert Grosche said: “Die Kirche selbst hat sich bis heute noch nicht definiert” (The Church has not yet defined itself until today).¹⁰

⁷ S. Boulgakoff, *L'Orthodoxie* (Paris, 1932) 4.

⁸ Metropolitan Philaret of Moscow, *Catechism*, published after the division of the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church in 1823; see P. A. Gratieux, in, A. S. *Khomiakov et le mouvement slavophile*, I-II (Paris 1939); J. N. Korsunsky, “La définition de l’Église chez Philarète de Moscou,” *Khristianskoje Ctenije* (July-August, 1985) (in Russian); A. Gorodkov, *La théologie dogmatique dans les oeuvres de Philarète de Moscou* (Kazan, 1887) (in Russian).

⁹ G. Florovsky, “*Le Corps du Christ Vivant, La Sainte Eglise Universelle*,” *Cahiers Théologiques de l’Actualité Protestante*, Hors-Série 4 (Neuchâtel: Niestlé & Delachaux, 1948) 11.

¹⁰ R. Grosche, *The Pilgrim Church* (Freiburg i.B., 1938) 27.

And for this purpose Florovsky makes an appeal to Christianity, both in the East and West, of a return to the tradition of the Fathers. Indeed, it must be a creative return. Therein, an element of self-criticism must be implied which brings us, as Fr. Florovsky qualifies, to the concept of Neo-Patristic synthesis as the task and aim of Orthodox theology today.¹¹ The Legacy of the Fathers is a challenge to our generation in the Orthodox Church and to the greater ecumenical endeavor. Its recreative power has been increasingly recognized and acknowledged during the past decades in the various corners of our divided Christendom. The growing appeal of patristic tradition is one of the most distinctive marks of our time. For the Orthodox this appeal is of special urgency and importance because, first of all, the whole tradition of Orthodoxy has always been continuously patristic. Secondly, Orthodox theology in particular needs a new interpretation of its teaching and doctrine; it needs a realistic way to identify the Tradition and new ways of responding to the needs of contemporary life for its faithful. Christ is present at all times and ages, but we need a "New Pentecost and a new Transfiguration," a "new understanding of Christ," as He was interpreted by the Fathers with their transcendent spirit, paternal and "erotic divine love" and eternal grace, a "Christ who speaks to the people's hearts."

Humanity today is living in an apocalyptic phase of its history. "Signs"¹² from heaven make people's hearts aware of Christ's presence in their lives in more concrete ways. Mystical¹³ and Marian apparitions,¹⁴ illuminated people experiencing the Spirit's gifts, miraculous ways of healing peoples' sufferings, "messages" (Isaiah 55, 8:64) from the transcendent heaven, reach the sinful earth day by day. Christ and his renewing Spirit speak to peoples' fatalistic lives through his grace and love, with his saints and his Mother, the Theotokos. The whole Trinitarian communion participates in this divine adventure for salvation, or, at least, "alerting" of the world today, and reminding people once more that the only way towards the sanctification

¹¹ G. Florovsky, "The Ethos of the Orthodox Church," *The Ecumenical Review* 12:2 (1960) 192.

¹² René Laurent in, *Quand Dieu fait signe* (Paris: Ed. Oeil, 1993).

¹³ Louis Gardet, *La Mystique* (Paris 1991) 49-75.

¹⁴ It is true that in our times the phenomena of mystical "Marian apparitions" still continue to take place in many parts of the world. The cases of Lourdes, Fatima and Medjugorje in the West as well as the miracles attributed to the "miraculous" icons in the East continue to witness—even with some human ambiguities and hesitations, sometimes even relating to their credibility—to show that Christ's presence is so alive among us that perhaps these are true divine interventions in a secularized world's crisis. See *True Life in God. Vassula: Conversations with Jesus*, I-II, (Belfast, 1991).

of the human soul, and that the world may believe,¹⁵ is Christ's way.

One has to reassess both the problems and the answers of the Fathers, the vitality of patristic thought, and its perennial timeliness which will come to the fore, an "Inexhaustum est penu Patrum," as Louis Thomassin, a French orator of the 17th century and one of the distinguished patristic scholars of his time, expressed it so well.¹⁶ This Floroskyian patristic synthesis should begin with the central vision of the Christian faith: Christ Jesus, as God and Redeemer, Humiliated and Glorified, the Victim and the Victor on the Cross.

But in our times we must go beyond discussions and controversies, as Fr. Florovsky stressed, in order to rediscover the true "catholic" or "integral" spirit which would embrace the ages. We must also come back from the classroom to the Temple, to the Church which adores and prays, "die betende Kirche" [the praying, the worshipping Church], and which bears witness through its faith and hope. And we must perhaps replace the scholastic vocabulary of theology by the metaphorical and symbolic language of devotion, which is also that of Holy Scriptures. Thus, the true nature of the Church can be pictured and described rather than properly defined. This can certainly only be accomplished from within the *Ecclesia*, and even this description will probably, as Florovsky says, only convince those who belong to the Church. Mystery is only grasped by faith.

In this perspective, Fr. Florovsky always struggled in his theology to present the link and the close relationship between the Church Fathers' doctrine and teaching and the messianic message of the Holy Scriptures. Christian truth is one and indivisible. One must not and cannot isolate the constructive parts. Otherwise one would run the dangerous risk of distorting and misunderstanding them. For Fr. Florovsky the Church is the vital core of the mystery of salvation. It is a new creation of God, a living epitome of the redeeming work of Christ. It is the place and the way in which His presence continues in the world until the eschaton, the end of the ages. Much more than that, even the Church is Christ himself, the whole Christ "Totus Christus,"¹⁷ to borrow St. Augustine's expression; "Jesus poured out and imparted" that the French theologian Bossuet used to affirm.

¹⁵ See the excellent book of a Russian contemporary lay religious writer who is looking to find responses relating to the unity issue by witnessing with his inner faith and by bringing the churches of the East and West into a dialogue: Vladimir Ziélinsky, *A fin que le monde croie...*, (Paris: éd. Nouvelle Cité, 1989). Preface by Olivier Clément, "Convertiti alla Chiesa," *Rivista del Centro Studi Russia Cristiana*, 2 (1982) 31ff.

¹⁶ L. Thomassin, *Dogmatica theologica* I, "Praefatio," xx.

¹⁷ See the excellent and unique study on Florovsky's ecclesiology by the German theologian Christoff Künkel, *Totus Christus, die Theologie George V. Florovskys* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991) 95-156.

For Fr. Florovsky, the theology of the Church is only a chapter, but a fundamental chapter of Christology. It is in this christological framework that the mystery of the Church is announced in the New Testament, and it was presented in the same way by the Greek and Latin Church Fathers. Thus, the mystery of the Church has a paradoxical structure, like the mystery of Christ, the paradox which is implicit in the Chalcedonian dogma. Two realities, "divine" and "human," while not identified, are one indivisible perfect unity. One can distinguish them with care, but one never dares to separate them. The only exact definition of the Church would be the whole of Christianity. And perhaps Fr. Paul Florensky, a spiritual Russian personality, was right in insisting that "the idea of the Church does not exist at all, but the Church itself exists, and for every living member of the church, the life of the Church is the most definite and the most tangible of all the things with which humankind is acquainted."¹⁸

Fr. Florovsky believed that authentic Christian existence is the Church, with its historical and eschatological dimensions. Christ's Passion on the Cross and his victorious Resurrection are the Church because it is the image of Christ's presence, the "real presence" on earth and in the mystery of the Eucharist.

Consequently, the Church exists in a realm of accomplishment or, as Fr. Florovsky would put it, in the realm of "inaugurated eschatology." "We are no longer in the world of signs only, but already in the world of reality, yet under the sign of the Cross. The Kingdom has been already inaugurated, but not yet fulfilled."¹⁹ Accordingly, the history of salvation and redemption continues; the Church is still on its pilgrimage, but now the People of God have the abiding presence of the Holy Spirit and are charismatically one in the living person of Christ. Thus, the Church is not a merely human society; it is not even merely the historic form of Christian experience.

The Church exists in Christ because Christ himself belongs to the Church, and he is not above or outside of the Church. This is why one cannot limit the nature of the Church to the merely human level. In spite of the reality that Christ is the Head and the heart of the Church, this mystery is also the mystery of the Church: the unity of Christ is also the life of the Church. Fr. Florovsky said that "Christians are set apart, 'born anew,' are recreated; they are given not only a new pattern of life, but rather a new principle: the

¹⁸ P. Florensky, "Der Pfeiler und die Grundfeste der Wahrheit," in N. von Bubnoff and H. Ehrenberg eds., *Oestliches Christentum II* (München 1925) 30.

¹⁹ G. Florovsky, "Revelation and Interpretation," in: *Biblical Authority for Today*, ed. A. Richardson & W. Schweitzer (Philadelphia, Westminster 1951) 180.

new life in the Lord by the Spirit.”²⁰

The Church then is a sacramental community, a “communis in sacris,” a fellowship in the Holy Spirit. This is why the Church is the “Holy Church” and Florovsky considers that the terms “Church” and “Saints” in St. Paul’s writings are actually coextensive and synonymous. There is a communal or social dimension to saintliness that presupposes incorporation in the community, in the fellowship of the Holy Spirit and in the Body of Christ.²¹ Thus, he argued that the “community of saints,” a concept which was much stressed by the Orthodox at the Oxford and Edinburgh Conferences, is a simple “pleonism.”

It is precisely this relationship with the grace of God that is effected by the sacramental life of the Church. Both the unity and the holiness of the faithful community is effected by the sacraments, particularly Baptism and the Eucharist, which are considered, as “social sacraments.”²² Fr. Florovsky, when he states emphatically that “the sacraments constitute the Church,”²³ means precisely this referring to the classical passage of St. Paul:

For in the one Spirit we were all baptized into one body—Jews or Greeks, slaves or free—and we were all made to drink of one Spirit....The cup of blessing that we bless, is it not a sharing in the body of Christ? Because there is one bread, we who are many are one body, for we all partake of the one bread” (1 Cor. 12:13; 10, 16:17).

Indeed then the sacraments “constitute” the Church, the Body of Christ.

This excellent analogy of the Body of Christ used by St. Paul expresses the intimate and charismatic union of the faithful with their Lord in whose divine-human life they share and partake. On the other hand, this particular analogy of the Body is especially dear to Fr. Florovsky’s theology because it conveys vividly the personal relationship of each member to Christ as the Head of the Church. Christians do not stand alone, and Christ does not stand alone. The members need the Head, and the Head needs the members, as St. John Chrysostom says, to complement and fulfill each other: “...He has put all things under his feet and has made him the head over all things for the Church, which is the body, the fullness of him who fill all in all” (Eph. 1: 22-23).²⁴

The sacramental or charismatic nature of the Church’s life, properly understood and experienced, which is so fundamental in Fr. Florovsky’s

²⁰ G. Florovsky, “The Church: Her Nature and Task,” in *The Universal Church in God’s Design: Amsterdam*, vol. I, (London: SCM Press 1942-1958) 47.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ St. John Chrysostom, Commentary on Ephesians 1: 22-23. PG 60, 624.

ecclesiology, makes a very significant affirmation: "Nothing has been left undone by God for our salvation and for the immediate transformation of human existence. Thus, our participation in the renewed life of the Kingdom of God is a present reality as well as a future fulfillment."²⁵

This christological analogy results in the fact that the Church is not simply a social organization, but rather a living "organism," not in the sense of a body of witnessing believers, but precisely as the "one Body of Christ"; "one organism" into which the faithful are baptized and integrated "by one Spirit,"²⁶ This intimate union *par excellence* transcends the merely human dimension which lives in the eucharistic experience by the power of the Holy Spirit.

The Holy Spirit reveals this transcendent dimension and reality, opens new horizons to the eschaton and to the living experience of the Kingdom of God. The Church thus is one in the Eucharist, for the Eucharist is Christ Himself, and He "sacramentally" abides in the Church, which is His Body. Therefore, the Church is a body indeed, an "organism," which is more than a society or a corporation²⁷, but as Fr. Sergius Bulgakov used to say "...the Church is not an institution; it is a new life with Christ and in Christ, guided by the Holy Spirit. And the light of the Resurrection of Christ lights the Church, and the joy of the Resurrection, of the triumph over death, fills it. The Risen Lord lives with us and our life in the Church is a mysterious life in Christ."²⁸

FR. FLOROVSKY: AN ECUMENICAL "VIATOR"

Fr. Florovsky served and contributed to the ecumenical movement in a special and unique way; we could say in his own way. He had a specific and always "strange" attitude towards his contribution to and participation in meetings and consultations. He had been involved in major ecumenical gatherings, WCC General Assemblies as a Church delegate, and as a member of the Executive Committee and the Central Committee. In 1946 he became a member of the Continuation Committee of Faith and Order;²⁹ he

²⁵ See "Declaration of Orthodox Delegates" to the Second Assembly of the WCC (Evanston, 1954). Also, Peter Chamberas, "Some Aspects of the Ecclesiology of Georges Florovsky," *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, op. cit. 435.

²⁶ G. Florovsky, "The Doctrine of the Church and the Ecumenical Problem," *The Ecumenical Review* 2 (1950) 152.

²⁷ Georges Florovsky, *The Church: Her Nature and Task*, op. cit. 51-52.

²⁸ S. Bulgakov, *The Orthodox Church*, trans. Lydia Kesich (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1988) 1.

²⁹ This Committee was transformed in 1952 into the Commission on Faith and Order, with a Working Committee.

was the main speaker at World Conferences and Pan-Orthodox Conferences which have marked the history of the ecumenical movement at the World Council of Churches at the Faith and Order Commission in particular.

He had an always questioning mind, with feelings of temporary hesitations, ambiguities, fears and he was full of agony about the Orthodox presence in gatherings and meetings, but at the same time he had a great vision and eschatological hope. He expressed these feelings with the following words:

...we are meeting now in an ecumenical setting. What is actually our meeting ground? Christian charity? Or deep conviction that all Christians somehow belong together, and the hope that ultimately the "divided Christians" will be re-united? Or we assume that certain "unity"? In any case, we are meeting now as we are, i.e., precisely as "divided," conscious of the divisions and mutual separation. And yet, the "meeting" itself constitutes already some kind of "unity."³⁰

His genius appeared in his remarkable participation as a member of many drafting committees, always bringing his own vision, understanding and sometimes his own personally drafted contributions in the spirit and richness of the Orthodox Tradition and the teachings of the Church Fathers. Thus, he was an architect of various famous historical theological statements on the "Nature of the Church" and "Church Unity," already from the first WCC Assembly at Amsterdam. It should be mentioned that this was at the beginning of the formation of the WCC and, since then, things have changed. Florovsky was aware that the issue of church unity in the ecumenical discussions seemed to be far away from the Orthodox understanding and teaching of the Tradition of the undivided Church of Christ.

For this reason, Fr. Florovsky was not ready for theological "compromise" or even for a constructive ecumenical dialogue. His dialogical exercise was mainly to present what the Orthodox Tradition and the Truth of the undivided Church say, or at least what the Church Fathers said as part of a theological subject under discussion. "Truth...is not a matter of majority votes...As things are, Orthodoxy is not repressed by its restricted numerical strength," and here Fr. Florovsky makes reference to the World Council of Churches, but continues in an admirable and patient manner to give its specific testimony. "It is convinced that Truth has the last word."³¹ But he did not hesitate to protest in Amsterdam against the new constitutional

³⁰ Cf. Georges Florovsky, "The Ethos of the Orthodox Church," 197. This is one of the four papers presented to the Faith and Order Consultation, held in Kifissia, Greece, 16-18 August 1959.

³¹ Cf. George H. Williams, "Georges Florovsky," 45.

form and name of the World Council of Churches, particularly *Churches*, in the plural. Because the name WCC implies a situation which should not be, “we agree to call our denominations ‘Churches’ in a sense which the New Testament could never allow”³² and he affirmed that in this case, if it is so, the Orthodox presence has a kind of “missionary activity.”³³

Fr. Florovsky’s serene confidence in the unique claim and mission of the Orthodox Church is all the more impressive, and indeed moving, when one considers his own personal ecclesiastical vicissitudes; his exposure of the pseudomorphism of much of Orthodox theology; and his acknowledgment that the “institutions” in the Church are quite often unaware of their responsibility to the world and to their “engagement” in the ecumenical movement in particular. Furthermore, he was one among others who had resisted with some disappointment but also insisted at the Third Meeting of the Central Committee of the WCC, in July 1950 in Toronto, on the *non*-ecclesiological significance of the World Council of Churches. The historical “Toronto Statement” permits the membership and participation of the Orthodox Church

Nevertheless, Florovsky used, not for the first time, very strong and sharp language and he even proposed that “it may be time [for the Orthodox] to depart.”³⁴ Despite this language, however, he stayed with the WCC. His continuing contribution to the WCC and Faith and Order Commission was notable for a series of presentations and theological articles. For example, at the Third World Conference on Faith and Order in Lund, August 1952, he contributed four theological essays published by the Conference.

The Christian world is “in Schism”— this was always recalled in Fr. Florovsky’s thinking. There is little unity, and little agreement, among those who “believe in Jesus’ name,” who call themselves by His name and glory in the title, who acknowledge and confess Christ Jesus as their Master, as God and Saviour, who put their trust in Him and proclaim, by word and deed, their ultimate allegiance to Him as their lord. There are, in fact, numerous Christian bodies which claim the name of the Church for themselves – and they are out of communion – *koinonia* – with one another, sometimes in open and bitter antagonism.

Today, the unity of faith has fallen apart in many cases. The unity of love has cooled. The body of Christians has been utterly disrupted. Only the hope of unity has not been fully lost, and perhaps this is the only token

³² Cf. G. Florovsky, “Une vue sur l’Assemblée d’Amsterdam,” *Irénikon* 22:1 (1949) 16.

³³ *Ibid.* 9.

³⁴ See the Minutes and Report of the Third Meeting of the Central Committee (1950), 15ff. The document under discussion was entitled: “The Church, the Churches and the World Council of Churches”; see also G. H. Williams, “Georges Florovsky,” 46, n. 93.

of unity still left in divided Christendom. What is the meaning of this schism and disruption? Are we to speak of the “divided Church”? But can the Church of God, the *Una Sancta*, ever be divided? Would not a “divided Church” rather be no Church at all? The spirit of schism and division is the direct opposite of the true spirit of the Church. The visible unity of Christians has been broken. Is this to be regarded as a division in the Church? Or should we rather describe it as a separation of some perhaps from the Church? Can we escape this dilemma? *Divisus est Christus*? “Is Christ divided?” No. Emphatically not.³⁵

Certainly, the Church is the people of God, but as such it is made up of imperfect human beings who can only live together if certain limits are imposed on their behavior. The people of God in this world, in order to perform their function and participation, need to find their proper form. Their real role and purpose. This means that institutional elements have been in the Church from the very beginning. And this has remained true and real throughout history.

Many of those participating in the ecumenical movement strongly criticize this aspect of the dominating institutional laws in the Church and they conclude by affirming that this attitude makes the Church a prisoner to its participation and deliberations. Yet, nobody speaks of dismissing this challenge. Nobody speaks in favor of “a complete even partial rejection” of the institutional forms and laws because they are part of the inner nature and identity of the ecclesial life of the Church. The complete rejection is surely impracticable, because it denies the Church itself. Not because it would be too risky to abandon the Church’s existing order without knowing what would take its place, but for a much more fundamental reason that this is unthinkable. It is simply untrue to say that the community we meet in the New Testament is a purely charismatic fellowship, one which lives only by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. Certainly the gifts of the Spirit are indispensable because they are divinely given realities; nobody can argue about that, nor deny them. But this does not mean that the Church can manage without rules and agreed arrangements for its common life.

There is, however, another criticism of Church institutionalism which is certainly well-founded, based as it is on the truth that, while structure order and even law all have their legitimate place in the life of the Church, every order carries with it at the same time serious dangers, which emerge with their misuse. For what Nietzsche metaphorically said about the State

³⁵ Ibid. 153.

can equally be said of every other non-Church institution: "...it wants to be an important animal." Human institutions have an inherent tendency to self-assertiveness and empire-building, and thus become an end in themselves rather than a means. The real question is therefore, whether it is possible to guide and control the Church's institutional element so that it continues to play a subservient role to the task which the Lord has assigned to His Church.

It is also significant that the Protestant theologian Karl Barth, who at first attacked every form of institutionalism in the Church, as Kierkegaard also did, later reached the conclusion that it was a mistake to think we had to choose between a Church imprisoned in institutional armor and a Church devoid of all order and discipline. The Church has its own distinctive way: namely, the use of institutional means in obedience to Christ. A Church, wishing to be purely spiritual, runs the risk of losing its own identity and becoming the mere plaything of secular forces. The real struggle, therefore, is not against the institutional element as such—as many non-Orthodox accuse the Orthodox—but against its tendency to claim first place. When the institution dominates, or sometimes over-dominates, there is no real possibility of conversion, metanoia, renewal, transfiguration and deification of the human being's heart and soul.

How does all this apply precisely to the ecumenical movement? It means that it is irrelevant to ask whether the ecumenical movement needs an institutional form. A decisive question is whether the institutional factors in the ecumenical movement are a law or a decision-making entity unto themselves.

People sometimes speak as if in the year 1937 the ecumenical movement suffered a fall from grace, so to speak, which finally is true according today's situation. The ecumenical movement today does not need any artificial prayers, flourishing worship services animated in an artistic way, spiritual festivals, charismatic gatherings, or even musical melodies and abstract words without any meaning and which do not reach the divine and transcendent heaven. What is needed is something deep and more substantial.

The Orthodox participating in the ecumenical movement have always struggled by making an appeal and addressing an invitation to their beloved sisters and brothers in Christ that : Christians and all people have to begin to know the truth, the "ἀλήθεια," of the Good News, to believe and love the *Ecclesia*, the Church of Christ, to embrace it even in difficult circumstances and painful moments of its history, to suffer, witness and

confess it, to defend it even if martyrdom be the cost. Thus, this is the Christian way of worshipping, by communication directly and with open hearts to face the Lord and Saviour in truth and love and to be in a real *koinonia* with Him and his Church. This analogical *koinonia* is the real participation in the Kingdom of God, not yet fulfilled, but already present among us.

These are the sufferings of today's ecumenical movement. A movement which is ill and asks to be redeemed from human domination and weakness. This humanistic way of dealing with, and being involved in, the large ecumenical family has to reach its end. We have to abandon what is like Aristophanes' "play of masks" in ancient Athens, otherwise the unity of the Church we are seeking never, but never, will be achieved.

Christians today are leaving the Church. Some are looking for new ways of approaching Christ; others are captured by sects and charismatic movements which are promoting politics, sex, business, the desire and thirst of a new reality which is far away from the Christic way of Emmaus.

If we want the "end," we must also find the means to achieve that end. The really astonishing thing is that people who want to see an active ecumenical movement, addressing itself to the world, should at the same time be opposed to the Church providing radical ecclesiastical changes, which are for some Churches an issue relating Tradition, doctrine and Church-life matters. Otherwise, an ecumenical paralysis is enforced which can take other forms.

Is it not true that such an ecumenical paralysis reigns among us today? In the ecumenical field the choice is not between "institution" and "task" but between different aspects of this one task. In the many critical situations we have faced in the history of the ecumenical movement, the question has constantly been: To what extent must we give priority to the task of maintaining the fellowship between the Churches and to keep alive the priority issue which is the unity of the Church; and to what extent is the other responsibility bearing a clear witness (μαρτυρία) against the injustice of the world? Only in this way, Florovsky said, could the ecumenical movement exist and live on its own; or to use the words of the first General Secretary of the WCC: "that the ecumenical movement can only have a future."³⁶

There is a future for the ecumenical movement for which Fr. Florovsky spent almost his entire life witnessing and contributing to its eschatological perspective, provided it does not cease to reflect on its true *raison d'être*,

³⁶ Cf. W. A. Visser't Hooft, "Has the Ecumenical Movement a Future?" *Christian Journals Limited* (Belfast 1974) 97.

and draws its life from the heart of the Holy Scriptures. Thus the ecumenical movement will move Churches and Christians, driving and binding them together in a real *koinonia* of fellowship, and thus enabling them to carry out the renewing and saving task in the world today.

There is a final station on our road. The faith that is tested produces love and hope. It is one of the strangest aspects of the Christian Church's history that the Churches which are today under pressure and confusion in the ecumenical movement often know so much about hope and seek for an eschatological unity. There is also the joy of that experience, despite the difficulty of the examination and one's obvious incapacity to respond adequately to the Lord's prayer. The road is difficult and it will become more difficult because of an "ecclesial human weakness" which reigns in Christians and in the Churches today, and they are not ready – and I wonder when they will express their readiness – to rediscover a new ecumenical vision with reality and honesty, liberated from the historical painful hostilities of the divisions of the past, and to admit that the Tradition of the undivided Church is "one" and not many, as the road to the fulfillment of God's Kingdom is also one and not many.

There is also the joy that, in spite of the "closing of doors" in the present ecumenical movement, the Word, the "Logos," of God still finds holes through which it can creep. And above all there is the happy discovery that we are taken up in the great happenings which will lead to the ultimate event of manifesting the victory of Christ.

The New Delhi Assembly in 1961 spoke of the need for the Churches to take a "responsible risk" and to be ready to face the possible death of past forms, as we reach out to the true unity that is Christ's will for us. After 32 years this "risk" is far away from us, and still the Churches are struggling to find new ecclesiological "magic formulas" for the unity of Christ's Church. But Christ and the unity of his Church do not need magic, sophisticated, or imaginary theological combinations. Christ is simple and humble in his message. He is asking for faith, truth and love. What more is needed than these three in our ecumenical endeavors? I think and am strongly convinced that we will find all three and even something more than that.

Fr. Florovsky will remain present in theologians' minds forever. His "patristic revolution" is a sign of hope and a call to the theologians and to Church leaders of today. If he were present among us to experience and test today's situation, and see the direction in which the ecumenical movement is moving, he would again start his theology because he was a faithful person committed to his Church and to the ecumenical vision.

The Lord desires that the unity of His Church effect reconciliation and healing of memories among the Churches and the people of God, whom we ought to love and serve with the best of our intelligence and all the love of our hearts. Master, “Father Georges” your disciples thank you because you have shown us how to love the Church, and to be faithful to it; and we, your disciples, pray for your eternal memory.

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Theodoret of Kyros on the Relationship of the Body and the Soul Before Birth

PAUL CREGO

An examination of the patristic tradition on the creation of the soul in relationship to the body, with a background on patristic embryology, is followed by an examination of key exegetical positions in the writings of Theodoret of Kyros related to the issue and its theological implications for the doctrines of creation, original sin, free will and baptism.

The discussion of human nature in the early Church followed naturally from the doctrine that God had assumed a complete and perfect human nature in the person of Jesus Christ. Human nature was a worthy topic of study because God had created it, God in the person of Jesus had reconciled it, and the Spirit continued to bring it sanctification.

Early Christians who wrote on issues of theological anthropology devoted much time and attention to the relationship of body and soul. As with the discussion of the human nature, in general, it is possible to make a direct Christological connection to this topic. Since Christians believed that Jesus Christ was fully human, they also believed that he possessed a human body and a human soul. Thus, both the human body and the human soul were, individually and collectively, worthy objects of study and attention. If God had assumed a human body, it followed that this aspect of the human being was, along with the soul, a good creation of the good God, and a participant in the economy of salvation. Early Christians raised questions concerning such issues as the resurrection of the body, the relation of the soul and body, and about the way in which the constitution of the human body was itself a sign of divine providence.

Theodoret of Kyros addressed the topic of body-soul relationship in Book Five, *Περὶ φύσεως ἀνθρώπου* (*On Human Nature*) of his *Ἑλληνικῶν θεραπευτικῆ παθημάτων* (*A Cure for Pagan Maladies*). Specifically he spoke of the relationship between the soul and body before birth. This discussion, as with other topics in this apologetic¹ work, is in the context of refuting the ideas of the philosophers and poets. There is, however, also a clear Christian perspective to the debate.

Early Christian writers had not reached a consensus concerning the relationship of body and soul before birth, and so it was in the midst of a certain amount of fluidity of thought that Theodoret took up the issue in the fifth century. And it should be noted that Theodoret's strong insistence on the soul's creation after the body's formation was one of the ways in which Theodoret denied that original sin compelled humans to sin. If a child's soul was created afresh and was not in any way constructed from the souls of its parents, then there was no way, according to the thinking of Theodoret, that original sin could be passed on.

My agenda here is to give a brief summary of ancient Greek thought concerning the implanting of the soul in the fetus. I will then discuss two major schools of thought in early Christianity: that of the pre-existence of souls, represented by Clement of Alexandria and Origen; and traducianism, represented especially by Tertullian and Gregory of Nyssa, but also in a sense by Augustine. Theodoret's "creationism" in this context, and as a matter of polemic in Book Five of *A Cure for Pagan Maladies* will be presented in terms of the exegesis of several scriptural passages used by Theodoret to support his doctrine.

Classical and Hellenistic Embryology

Philosophers in Greece before the time of Aristotle were interested in the relationship of the body and soul generally only insofar as the body was somehow the soul's prison or some sort of covering eventually to be discarded. Plato and others recognized the pedagogical usefulness of the body, in that the soul could be trained in the body for its future and better life. Plato was also among those who believed that the soul pre-existed the body; a belief that was often echoed in early Christian writing and one which precluded the study of embryonic development as relevant to an understanding of human nature. Plato and others believed that the human

¹ This work will be cited according to the *Sources Chrétiennes* edition (vol. 57) edited by Pierre Canivet, S. J. (Paris, 1958).

body was only one of many possible stops for the soul as it was moved along in the process of transmigration.²

Aristotle was the first among the Greeks to make any systematic study of the developing fetus. In the second book of his *On the Generation of Animals* Aristotle speculated about the method by which soul entered the embryo. He recognized that soul was something "more divine" in all of its types: θρεπτική (nutritive), αἰσθητική (sentient), and λογική (rational):³

Πάσης μὲν οὖν ψυχῆς δύναμις ἑτέρου σώματος
ἔοικε κεκοινωνῆναι καὶ θειοτέρου τῶν
καλουμένων στοιχείων· ὥς δὲ διαφέρουσι
τιμότητι αἱ ψυχαὶ καὶ ἀτιμία ἀλλήλων,
οὕτω καὶ ἡ τοιαύτη διαφέρει φύσις.

Now it is true that the faculty of all kinds of soul seems to have a connection with a matter different from and more divine than the so-called elements; but as one soul differs from another in honor and dishonor, so differs also the nature of the corresponding matter.

Aristotle concluded that the nutritive soul and sentient soul, in their material reality, were passed along with semen from the male. This anticipates the materialist and traducianist thinking of the Stoics, and of Tertullian and other Christians. The Aristotelian concept of these "souls" is that they are the energies by which the life of an individual is maintained. He does not know of the genetic input of the female, and in the context of his thesis that females are undeveloped males, says the following:⁴

τὸ γὰρ θῆλυ ὥσπερ ἄρρεν ἐστὶ πεπηρωμένον, καὶ τὰ καταμήνια σπέρμα, οὐ καθαρὸν δέ. Ἐν γὰρ οὐκ ἔχει μόνον, τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρχήν.

For the female is a maimed version of the male, and the menstrual flow is semen, but not pure, for it lacks only one thing and that is the principle of soul.

Aristotle is less clear in this work about the origin of the rational soul. He asks the following question:⁵

Διὸ καὶ περὶ νοῦ, πότε καὶ πῶς μεταλαμβάνει καὶ πόθεν τὰ μετέχοντα

² Cf. Plato's discussion of transmigration in the *Laws*: 904DE. Theodoret takes up this subject in his *Haereticarum fabularum compendium* 5:9; MPG 83: 480CD.

³ Aristotle, *De generatione animalium* 736B. English trans.: ed. J. A. Smith and W. D. Ross, *The Works of Aristotle* (Oxford, 1912) 5:736B.

⁴ *De generatione animalium* 737A.

⁵ Ibid. 736B.

ταύτης τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἔχει τ' ἀπορίαν πλείστην, καὶ δεῖ προθυμεῖσθαι κατὰ δύναμιν λαβεῖν καὶ καθ' ὅσον ἐνδέχεται.

Concerning also the mind: when and how and from where do those animals that have this principle receive it? This is a very difficult question and it is necessary to pursue it insofar as we are able.

Aristotle, however, says very little about the origins of this type of soul, except to conclude that it comes from "outside:"⁶

λείπεται δὴ τὸν νοῦν μόνον θύραθεν ἐπεισιέναι καὶ θεῖον μόνον

It remains then that the mind alone is introduced from outside and that it is solely divine.

Apart from this statement, either here in *On the Generation of Animals* or in *On the Soul*, Aristotle makes no comment about the exact origin of the rational soul and the timing of its appearance in humankind.

Christian Thinking to the Time of Theodoret

Christian writers added little to the classical and Hellenistic descriptions of embryonic development. As Joseph Needham, in his monograph *A History of Embryology*, asserts:⁷

The Patristic writers, who on the whole were careful to base their psychology on the physiology of the ancients, had little to say about the developing embryo. Most of their interest in it was, as would naturally be expected, theological...

With some exceptions, early Christian writers were not interested in the physical aspects of the early development of human individuals, but were much more interested in the relationship of the body and soul in the mature individual, i.e. the moral agent whose behavior was a product of the body-soul relationship. Many also described the human body as evidence of divine providence.

It is necessary to note here that there was some disagreement among early Christians as to whether the spirit [πνεῦμα] or mind [νοῦς] constituted a third and separate entity of the human individual. Gregory of Nyssa acknowledges this disagreement in Chapter Eight of his *De hominis opificio*, and, concludes, as the prevailing consensus, that the human being is bipartite and that the spirit or mind is a part of the soul.⁸ This disagreement

⁶Ibid. 736B.

⁷Joseph Needham, *A History of Embryology* (New York, 1959) 75.

⁸Gregory of Nyssa, *De hominis opificio* 8; *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* (2) 5:393-394.

can be seen in the developments of Platonic interpretation which come under the name of Middle Platonism and Neo-Platonism. Philosophers argued about the soul and whether rational and irrational souls (or parts of the soul) were of different substances.⁹

Some early writers, however, did discuss the idea of soul from the perspective of its origins, with traducianism, creationism, and pre-existence the three main possibilities which were debated. It is important to note here that these discussions form the background, context, and foundation for the modern debates on abortion, and a Biblical text used by Theodoret of Kyros in his argument about the soul's creation, namely Exodus 21:22-23, was used by ancients and moderns in their debates.¹⁰

Tertullian: De anima

Tertullian's polemical treatise, *De anima*, showing his later development away from Orthodoxy and towards Montanism, was written c. 210-213.¹¹ In it we can see that Tertullian has been influenced by those who believe in a sort of material quality of the soul—an idea common among the Stoics. For this reason, he is among those who believe that the body and the soul are transmitted together in the moment of conception:¹²

Quomodo igitur animal conceptum? simulne
conflata utriusque substantia corporis
animaeque an altera earum praecedente?
immo simul ambas et concipi et confici et
perfici dicimus, sicut et promi, nec ullum
interuenire momentum in conceptu quo locus
ordinetur.

How, then, is a living being conceived? Is the substance of both body and soul formed together at one and the same time? Or does one of them precede the other in natural formation? We indeed maintain that both are conceived, and formed, and perfected simultaneously, as well as born together; and that not a moment's interval occurs in their conception, so that a prior place can be assigned to neither.

⁹Werner Deuse, *Untersuchungen zur mittelpatonischen und neuplatonischen Seelenlehre*. (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1983) 7-11.

¹⁰Cf. below in the discussion on this Exodus passage.

¹¹Quasten 2:289.

¹²Tertullian, *De Anima* 27; ed. A. Reifferscheid, G. Wissowa *Tertullian Opera* (Leipzig, 1890) *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 20:3 44-345; English trans. *Ante-Nicene Fathers* 3: 207.

This concept, that the physical and psychological aspects of a human being are passed along together, is referred to as traducianism. This or some sort of similar idea is necessary for those who believe in a literal transmission of original sin from one generation of humans to the next, and we will see that a sort of spiritual traducianism characterizes Augustine's thought on this subject.

Tertullian was influenced by the materialism of the Stoics on this issue, but also needed a mechanism whereby all of humankind participates in the sin of Adam.¹³

Clement of Alexandria

Clement of Alexandria makes the following statements concerning the relationship of body and soul in his *Protrepticus*:¹⁴

Ἄλλ' οὐ τοιόσδε ὁ ᾧδὸς ὁ ἐμὸς οὐδ' εἰς μακρὰν
καταλύσων ἀφίεται τῇ δουλείαν τὴν πικρὰν
τῶν τυραννούντων δαυμόνων, ὥς δὲ τὸν πρᾶον
καὶ φιλόανθρωπον τῆς θεοσεβείας μετάγων
ἡμᾶς ζυγὸν αὐθις εἰς οὐρανούς ἀνακαλεῖται
τοὺς εἰς γῆν ἐρρωμένους.

Πρὸ δὲ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου καταβολῆς ἡμεῖς, οἱ τῷ
δεῖν ἔσεσθαι ἐν αὐτῷ πρότερον γεγεννημένοι
τῷ θεῷ, τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου τὰ λογικὰ πλάσματα
ἡμεῖς, δι' ὃν ἀρχαῖζομεν, ὅτι "ἐν ἀρχῇ ὁ λόγος
ἦν."

But far different is my minstrel, for He has come to bring to a speedy end the bitter slavery of the demons that lord it over us; and by leading us back to the mild and kindly yoke of piety He calls once again to heaven those who have been cast down to earth.

But we were before the foundation of the world, we who, because we were destined to be in Him, were begotten beforehand by God. We are the rational images formed by God's Word, and we date from the beginning on account of our connection with Him, because "the Word was in the beginning."

Here is a clear understanding that human souls pre-existed the body, in a manner of reality that Plato would have understood. It is similar to those

¹³David Weaver, "From Paul to Augustine: Romans 5: 12 in Early Christian Exegesis," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 27: 3 (1983) 192.

¹⁴Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus*, trans. G.W. Butterworth, *Clement of Alexandria*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982) I. 4-6.

ideas of classical philosophy about the fall of spiritual souls into material bodies either for punishment or for pedagogical reasons.

Origen

Origen develops more fully the ideas of Clement in his *On First Principles*.¹⁵

ἐποίησεν οὖν (ὁ Θεός) τὸν παρόντα κόσμον,
καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν συνέδησε τῷ σώματι πρὸς
κόλασιν. οὐδὲ γὰρ “προσωπολήπτης ὁ Θεός,”
ἵνα πάντα ταῦτα μᾶς φύσεως ὄντα (πάντα γὰρ
λογικὰ εἰσι τὰ ἀθάνατα) τοὺς μὲν ποιήσοι δαίμονας, τοὺς ἀγγέλους·
ἀλλὰ δὴλον ὅτι ἕκαστον πρὸς ὃ ἡμαρτε
τιμωρούμενος, τὸν μὲν ἐποίησε δαίμονα, τὸν
δὲ ψυχὴν, τὸν δὲ ἄγγελον, εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἦν τοῦτο,
καὶ προϋπῆρχον αἱ ψυχαί, διὰ τί τινὰς μὲν
τῶν νεωστὶ τεχθέντων εὐρίσκομεν τυφλοὺς,
μηδὲν ἁμαρτήσαντας, ἄλλους δὲ μηδὲν
ἔχοντας κακὸν τικτομένους;

God therefore made the present world and bound the soul to the body as a punishment. For God is no ‘respector of persons’, that among all these being who are of one nature (for all the immortal beings are rational) he should make some demons, some souls, and some angels; rather is it clear that God made one a demon, one a soul and one an angel as a means of punishing each in proportion to its sin. For if this were not so, and souls had no pre-existence, why do we find some new-born babes to be blind, when they have committed no sin, while others are born with no defect at all?

For Origen human souls existed, not only as images in divine thought, but as actual beings which, due to their sinful natures, “fell” into human bodies. Origen’s spiritualizing of the resurrection of the body was consonant with his ideas about the soul’s preexistence and his less-than-positive view of the human body.¹⁶

Gregory of Nyssa

Gregory of Nyssa took up the issue of the soul’s origin in his *De hominis opificio*. Gregory, in this work written as a paschal gift to his brother Peter, Bishop of Sebaste, discusses the major philosophical issues concerning

¹⁴ Origen, *De principiis* 1: 8; English trans. with reference to G.W. Butterworth, trans., *Origen: On First Principles* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1966) 67.

¹⁵ Cf. *De principiis* 3:6.

¹⁶ E.g., Methodius.

humankind, including the relationship of body and soul. He is opposed to Origen and Methodios in this context.

Specifically, Gregory deals with the origin of the soul in chapters 28 and 29. In chapter 28 he refutes those who hold the idea of the soul's preexistence,¹⁷ saying that such a teaching too closely resembles the absurdities of transmigration, a doctrine heard often among the ancient Greek philosophers. Gregory also acknowledges those who say that the body is created first and then the soul,¹⁸ basing their belief on an exegesis of Genesis 2:7. He believed this viewpoint to be flawed, saying that such an order of creation would define the body as primary to, and superior to, the soul.

Gregory's own solution is to posit a sort of traducianism whereby body and soul are transmitted through the semen. In chapter 29 he says the following:¹⁹

κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην
σποράν ὑπειλήφμεν ἔχειν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῆς
συστάσεως ἀφορμῇ συνεσπαρμένην τὴν τῆς
συστάσεως δύναμιν. Ἐξαπλοῦσθαι δὲ καὶ
φανερῶσθαι διὰ τινος φυσικῆς ἀκολουθίας
πρὸς τὸ τέλειον προϊούσαν, οὐ
προσλαμβάνουσάν τι τῶν ἔξωθεν εἰς τὸ
τέλειον δι' ἀκολουθίας προάγουσαν. Ὡς μήτε
ψυχὴν πρὸ τοῦ σώματος, μήτε χωρὶς ψυχῆς τὸ
σῶμα ἀληθὲς εἶναι λέγειν, ἀλλὰ μίαν
ἀμφοτέρων ἀρχήν, κατὰ μὲν τὸν ὑψηλότερον
λόγον, ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ βουλήματι,
καταβληθεῖσαν, κατὰ δὲ τὸν ἕτερον, ἐν ταῖς
τῆς γενέσεως ἀφορμαῖς συνισταμένην.

in the same way we suppose the human germ to possess the potentiality of existence, and that it is unfolded and manifested by a natural sequence as it proceeds to its perfect state, not employing anything external to itself as a stepping-stone to perfection, but itself advancing its own self in due course to the perfect state; so that it is not true to say either that the soul exists before the body, or that the body exists without the soul, but that there is one beginning of both, which according to the heavenly view was laid as their foundation in the original will of God; according to the other, came into existence on the occasion of generation.

¹⁷ E.g., Origen.

¹⁸ E.g., Methodios.

¹⁹ *De hominis officio* 29.3. PG 44: 236B; English trans. in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* (2) 5: 421.

This perspective on human generation is not unlike that of Aristotle in his *On the Generation of Animals*, although the concept of the “original will of God” would resemble, to an extent, the Platonic idea of “forms.”

Nemesios of Emesa

Nemesios of Emesa, in his *De natura hominis*, upholds the idea of souls as preexisting their incorporation. He holds the idea that the body is first constructed to a certain extent and then ensouled from without:²⁰

εἰ δὲ τις ἐκ τοῦ μετὰ τὴν διάπλασιν τοῦ
σώματος ἐμβεβλήσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν ἡγοῖτο μετὰ
τὸ σῶμα γεγενῆσθαι αὐτὴν, διαμαρτάνει τῆς
ἀληθείας. οὔτε γὰρ ὁ Μωυσῆς τότε αὐτὴν
ἐκτίσθαι λέγει, ὅτε τῷ σώματι ἐνεβάλλετο,
οὔτε κατὰ λόγον οὕτως ἔχει.

If one says that the soul is created after the body, because it is placed in it after the fashioning of the body, then that one has completely missed the truth. Moses does not say that the soul was created at that moment at which it was put into the body, nor would it be reasonable to suppose it.

Nemesios accepts the Platonic idea of the soul’s preexistence and the concept that human learning is a sort of recollection of what the soul knew in its preexistence.

Nemesios differs from Origen, and in fact directly criticizes him, in that he does not posit any sort of punishment or that the souls “fell” because of their previous misbehavior and wrongdoing. Nemesios here was concerned to uphold the notion that God’s Sabbath from creating was ongoing and that what appeared new in the universe was only generated from what had already existed. Nemesios, with Apollonarios, was also nervous about a creationism that believed God created a soul at the moment of bodily conception, thus making God subject to the whims of human lust.

Augustine

Among the many topics discussed by the Bishop of Hippo was that of the origin of the soul and its relation to the body. In many areas Augustine was quite willing to make definitive statements; on this topic, however, he maintained his ignorance, although certain statements in certain works have led interpreters to assert that he leaned in one direction or another at cer-

²⁰ Nemesios of Emesa, *De natura hominis* 2; English trans. with reference to *Library of Christian Classics* 4: 282.

tain times in his career as a writer and dogmatician.

Robert J. O'Connell, in his monograph, *The Origin of the Soul in St. Augustine's Later Works*, maintains that Augustine, with his Platonic world view, was leaning toward belief in a sort of preexistence of souls somewhat similar to Origen's.²¹ Augustine's *De libero arbitrio* outlines four possibilities for the origin of the soul: 1. creationism; 2. traducianism; 3. preexistence; 4. preexistence with punishment of souls for transgressions.²²

Later, Augustine moved away from this Platonic line of thinking, and based upon his reading of Romans 9:11, shied away altogether from the notion of souls preexistent to bodies.²³

The issue of the soul's origin was also part of the controversy with the Pelagians. Pelagius himself, as is evident in his *Commentary on St. Paul*, believed in the creationism that was the current thought of Christians in the East. He and his disciple Caelestius believed that God created a new soul for each individual, and, consequently, that the new soul could in no way be responsible for the sin of Adam, having no material or spiritual contact with any previous generation.²⁴

Augustine's reluctance in making a definitive statement about the soul's origin can be read in the four essays under the title, *De natura et origine animae*, written probably in late 419. A certain Vincentius Victor, recently converted from the schismatic Rogationists,²⁵ had attacked Augustine for being noncommittal on the soul's origin. Augustine argues against the corporeality of the soul, and against any notion that the soul is made from divine substance. He prefers his ignorance to making statements of error:²⁶

ego enim, si hoc quod de animarum origine quaerimus nec deo nec aliquo spiritali homine docente scire potuero, paratior sum defendere quam recte etiam hoc deus sicut alia multa nos scire nouerit quam temere dicere, quod aut ita sit obscurum, ut hoc non solum ad aliorum intellegentiam perducere nequeam, sed nec ipse intellegam...

For my own part, indeed, if I proved unequal, either under the teaching of God or of some spiritual instructor, to the task of understanding the subject of our present inquiry on the origin of souls, I am more prepared to vindi-

²¹ Robert J. O'Connell, *The Origin of the Soul in St. Augustine's Later Works* 104.

²² Ibid. 10-11.

²³ Ibid. 105-110.

²⁴ Ibid. 12, 115-117.

²⁵ An offshoot of Donatism.

²⁶ Augustine, *De natura et origine animae*, 4: 11.16; *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 60: 395; English trans., *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* 5:361.

cate God's righteous will, that we should remain in ignorance on this point, as on many others, than to say in my rashness what either is so obscure that I can neither bring it home to the intelligence of other people, nor understand it myself.

Augustine has, however, been understood to have supported a sort of spiritual traducianism which can be derived from his insistence on the transmission of the sin of Adam from generation to generation. In *De natura et origine animae* and in an earlier work, *De peccatorum meritis*, he uses the term "*propagatio*" and he opposes this to the idea of "*imitatio*" by which some had described the relation of the sin of Adam to subsequent generations. In his *De peccatorum meritis*, he said the following:²⁷

per unum, inquit, hominem peccatum intrauit in mundum et per peccatum mors: hoc propagationis est, non imitationis; nam 'per diabolum' diceret. quod autem nemo ambigit, istum primum hominem dicit, qui est appellatus Adam. et ita, inquit, in omnes homines pertransit.

"By one man," says he, "sin entered into the world, and death by sin." This indicates propagation, not imitation; for if imitation were meant, he would have said, "By the devil." But as no one doubts, he refers to that first man who is called Adam: "And so," say he, "it passed upon all persons."

The question remains: what does Augustine mean by "*propagatio*?" It is clear, for Augustine, that original sin is being passed from Adam and through all subsequent generations of humankind. Newborn babies have it because of this "*propagatio*," and, therefore, need to be baptized in order to be saved from certain and merited damnation. Despite Augustine's protestations to the contrary, it seems here that he does support a sort of traducianism, in that there is a real contact between generations by which the original sin is transmitted. The only alternative would be to designate some outside agent by which original sin is passed on and none such is named by Augustine.

THEODORET OF KYROS IN *ON HUMAN NATURE*

Theodoret of Kyros, in Book Five of his *Ἑλληνικῶν θεραπευτικῇ παθημάτων*, *On Human Nature*, takes on the subject of soul and body relationship. He speaks of a bipartite human being, and rejects the idea that "spirit" or "mind" is some sort of third portion of the human being. He

²⁷ Augustine, *De peccatorum meritis* 1:10 .9; *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 60:12.; English trans., *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* 5:189.

asserts that the governing functions of "mind" are part of the soul and that the soul itself is essentially spiritual and intellectual.²⁸

Theodoret upheld the notion that the human body is a good part of the good God's creation. He disagreed with Plato, Pythagoras, and other Greek philosophers who used "τὸ σῶμα τὸ σῆμα" [the body = the tomb] as a sort of slogan to describe their belief that the soul, often thought of as a divine particle or "spark," was trapped in the body. Theodoret pointed out, however, that Plato appeared to contradict himself in this matter, as he admitted that the soul could live correctly in the body. For Theodoret, it was patently absurd that a soul could be said to exist before the body and then, because it had erred, to be sent into a body. If the body was such a trap, Theodoret reasoned, why was it necessary for the soul to learn right behavior while in the body?²⁹

The idea of humanity, soul and body, being created by God, is also affirmed by Theodoret in his *Haereticarum fabularum compendium*. In the ninth section of Book Five, "On Humanity," Theodoret clearly refuted those who said other beings or lesser divinities had created humankind:³⁰

Τὸν δέ γε ἄνθρωπον διαπλασθῆνί φαμεν, οὐχ
 ὑπ' ἀγγέλων τινῶν κατὰ τοὺς Βασιλίδου καὶ
 Κηρίνου μύθους, οὐδὲ ὑπὸ Ἰαλδαβαῶθ
 κατὰ τὴν τῶν Σηθιανῶν ἐμβροντησίαν, οὐδέ γε
 ὑπὸ τοῦ Σακλᾶ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Μάνεντος
 παραπλησίαν· ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς θείας καὶ
 παναγίας Τριάδος τῆς πάντα τεκτοναμένης.

We say that humankind was fashioned, not by some angels, as the myths of Basilides and Cerinthus [say], nor by Ialdabaoth, according to the madness of the Sethites, nor by Sacla, according to the insanity of Mani, but by the Divine and Most Holy Trinity has everything been framed.

Theodoret likely had such heretics in mind when he upheld throughout *On Human Nature*, that the body was a good creation of the creator God, who himself is defined as being good, and the source of all that which is good.

The chronological relationship of body and soul was, for Theodoret, a most critical issue. He first of all rejected the concept, as mentioned above, that souls came from outside the body and existed before the body was

²⁸ Cf. also Theodoret, *Compendium* 5:11; PG 83: 492A.

²⁹ Curatio 7 5:14-15

³⁰ *Compendium* 5:9; MPG 83: 477B.

formed. Although Theodoret spoke explicitly against those philosophers who had formed such opinions on the subject, Theodoret was also thinking of some, such as Origen, who speculated in *Περὶ ἀρχῶν* that souls had existed before their bodies, and that their "heaviness," defined by Origen as their participation in evil, brought them down into the material world, and hence into bodies, both as a sort of punishment and as training for the coming eternal life with God.

In *On Human Nature* Theodoret marshaled a series of Biblical proof texts which he believed to show the progression of body-soul generation. This series of texts is also repeated in his *Compendium*, where he made his points even more emphatically. The four scriptural references were drawn from Genesis 2, Exodus 21, Job 10, and Psalm 119.

Genesis 2:7

In Genesis 2, the chronological sequence of God first creating Adam's body from the soil and then breathing into him the breath of life, showed Theodoret that the human body precedes the formation of the human soul. Theodoret writes:³¹

ἅπαντες γὰρ συμφώνως διδάσκουσιν, ἀπὸ γῆς
μὲν καὶ ὕδατος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων στοιχείων
διαπλασθῆναι τὸ σῶμα, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν οὐ
προϋπάρχουσιν εἰς τοῦτο καταπεμφθῆναι,
ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὴν τοῦτου δημιουργηθῆναι
διάπλασιν· “Ἐπλασε” γὰρ φησιν “ὁ Θεὸς τὸν
ἄνθρωπον χοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς
τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνοὴν ζωῆς· καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ
ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν.”

For all teach in harmony that the body was fashioned from earth and water and the other elements; the soul, on the other hand, as though existing beforehand, was not sent down into it, but it was made after the body's construction. For he said: "God formed the human being from the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and the human became a living being."

Theodoret finds this distinction in the creation of Adam's body and soul to show the chronological relationship between body and soul in the development of each human embryo, for which the soul is created after a certain amount of physical development has taken place.

³¹ *Curatio* 5:50-51.

In the *Curatio* and in his *Questions on the Octateuch* Theodoret is quick to point out that this "breath of God" does not mean that humans possess any portion of the divine nature itself. In Book Five of the *Curatio*, he maintains:³²

Νοητέον δὲ τὸ ἐμφύσημα οὐκ ἐκροήν τινα
πνεύματος ἐκ στόματος γενομένην—
ἄσώματον γὰρ δὴ τὸ θεῖον καὶ ἄπλοῦν καὶ
ἄσύνθετον— ἀλλὰ τὴν φύσιν αὐτῆς τῆς ψυχῆς,
ὅτι πνεῦμά ἐστι νοητόν τε καὶ λογικόν.

It must be understood that this inspiration is not any effulgence of spirit from a mouth (that which is divine is bodiless, simple and noncomposite), but it is the nature of the soul itself, because it is notional and rational spirit.

Theodoret puts this more emphatically in his *Questions on the Octateuch*:³³

Ἀσεβείας ἐσχάτης καὶ βλασφημίας ἡ τοιαύτη
ἐννοία. Τῆς γὰρ δημιουργίας τὴν εὐκολίαν
ἔδειξε διὰ τοῦτου ἡ θεία γραφή. Πρὸς δὲ
τούτῳ, καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν φύσιν αἰνίττεται,
ὅτι πνεῦμά ἐστι κτιστόν, ἄόρατόν τε καὶ
νοερόν, τῆς τῶν σωμάτων ἀπηλλαγμένον
παχύτητος.

Such an understanding is extreme impiety and blasphemy. The holy Scriptures showed by this the ease of creation. In addition to this it gives us to understand the nature of the soul; i.e. that it is a created, invisible, as well as noetic, spirit, and free from the heaviness of the body.

Exodus 21:22-23

Theodoret's point concerning soul and body formation is extended in his interpretation of Exodus 21:22-23. Here the case connects the accidental striking of a pregnant woman which results in an abortion, and the ensuing penalties. The death penalty is prescribed for the death of an infant who is "formed," but a lesser penalty for one who is not. The word in the Septuagint for "formed" is *ἐξεικονίζομαι* and it is clear that Theodoret has some connection in his mind between "formation" and the implanting of the soul. He asserts:³⁴

³² Ibid. 5:51.

³³ *Quaestiones in Octateuchum* 13.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁ νομοθέτης ἐν τῇ κοσμογονίᾳ
 ξυνέγραψε· τὰ παραπλήσια δὲ καὶ τοῖς νόμοις
 διδάσκει. Περὶ γὰρ δὴ τῆς ἐγκύμονος τῆς ἐκ
 τινων πληγῶν ἀμβλωσκούσης διαλεγόμενος,
 διαμορφοῦσθαι πρότερον ἐν τῇ νηδύϊ λέγει τὸ
 βρέφος, εἴθ' οὕτω ψυχοῦσθαι, οὐ θύραθεν ποθεν
 τῆς ψυχῆς εἰσκρινομένης, οὐδέ γε ἐκ τῆς γονῆς
 φυομένης, ἀλλὰ τῷ θείῳ ὄρω κατὰ τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς
 ἐντεθέντα ἐν τῇ φύσει νόμον δεχομένης τὴν
 γένεσιν.

This, in fact, the lawgiver wrote down in his cosmogony. He also taught this in the laws. For, indeed, discussing a pregnant woman who aborts due to some sort of beating, he says that the fetus is first formed in the womb, then it is ensouled, the soul not being introduced from the outside, and not implanted by the act of generation, but by divine decree, it receives its birth according to the law which was placed from the beginning in nature.

There is some similarity with the thought of Clement, in that Theodoret posits that the "divine decree" by which God constructs souls is one which has existed "from the beginning." Theodoret, however, does not believe that the soul has any existence until the body has been prepared for it. The connection made between the root of εἰκονίζω and ψυχή is made in the Christian period because of the belief that the soul is the εἰκὼν of God. Thereby, the verb which originally meant simply "formed" took on a more specific and theological meaning.

Theodoret makes the connection between formation and ensoulment more clear in the *Questions on the Octateuch*:³⁵

Τί ἐστὶν "ἐξεικονισμένον";
 Φασὶ τοῦ σώματος ἐν τῇ μήτρᾳ τελείου
 διαπλασθέντος, τότε ψυχοῦσθαι τὸ ἔμβρυον.
 καὶ γὰρ τοῦ Ἀδάμ τὸ σῶμα πρότερον ὁ ποιητῆς
 διαπλάσας, οὕτως ἐνεφύσησε τὴν ψυχὴν.
 κελεύει τοίνυν ὁ νομοθέτης, γυναικὸς
 ἐγκύμονος ἀμβλωσάσης ἐν μάχῃ, εἰ μὲν
 ἐξεικονισμένον ἐξέλθοι τὸ βρέφος, τουτέστι
 μεμορφωμένον, φόνον τὸ πρᾶγμα καλεῖσθαι,
 καὶ τὴν ἴσην ὑπέχειν τιμωρίαν τὸν δεδρακότα·
 εἰ δὲ μὴ μεμορφωμένον, μὴ λογίζεσθαι φόνον,

³⁴ *Curatio* 5: 52-53.

³⁵ *Quaestiones in Octateuchum* 13.

ἐπειδήπερ οὐδέπω ψυχωθέν ἐξημβλώθη· ἀλλὰ
ζημίαν τίναι τὸν αἵτιον.

What is "formed?" They say that once the body is fully fashioned in the mother, then the embryo is ensouled. For also the creator first formed the body of Adam and then breathed in the soul. Thus the legislator commands, regarding a pregnant woman who has miscarried, because of a struggle, that the deed be called murder, if the infant comes out "imaged," i.e. "formed," and recommends the same punishment for the perpetrator; if the infant does not come out formed, then it is not considered murder, since it was miscarried never having a soul. He does, however, consider it a cause for some penalty.

The use of εἰκονίζω in the Septuagint is anomalous when compared with the Hebrew, which refers to whether "any further mischief" ensues, probably the death of the mother. The Septuagint addition would appear to give a human legal status to the fetus which looks more human, and thus, the death penalty is assessed for homicide.³⁶

This passage from Exodus has some history both in the question of infanticide and in the controversies concerning abortion. Philo of Alexandria interpreted this Exodus pericope to mean that infanticide had been expressly forbidden by the Mosaic Law.³⁷

Exodus 21:22-23 was apparently used by some to justify induced abortions before the fetus was "formed"/"ensouled." This is made clear in the following from one of the "canonical" letters of St. Basil:³⁸

Φθείρασα κατ' ἐπιτήδευσιν, φόνου δίκην
ὑπέχει ἀκριβολογία δὲ ἐκμεμορφωμένου καὶ
ἀνεξεικονίστου παρ' ἡμῖν οὐκ ἔστιν.

A woman who deliberately destroys a fetus is answerable for murder. And any nuance concerning it being "formed" or "unformed" is not admissible among us.

This text in Exodus, both in its Hebrew version and the Greek, appears in modern discussions of abortion and whether they can be considered morally justified in some cases.³⁹ Theodoret, although he is quite clear that

³⁶ John William Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Exodus*. (Atlanta: The Scholars Press, 1990) 333-334.

³⁷ Philo, *De specialibus legibus*, trans. F.H. Colson. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press) 544-551.

³⁸ Basil, Ep. 188.

³⁹ Cf., e.g., Robert N. Congdon, "Exodus 21:22-25 and the Abortion Debate," *Bibliotheca Sacra*. 146 (April-June 1989) 132-147 and H. Wayne House, "Miscarriage or Premature

the soul does not enter the body until after a certain development, does not appear to be among those who favored abortion at any stage of pregnancy.

Job 10:9-12

Theodoret sees the parallelism of Job 10:9-12 as descriptive of a chronological sequence:⁴⁰

Τοῦτο καὶ ὁ γενναῖος Ἰώβ ἐν τοῖς
πολυθρηλήτοις ἀγῶσι πρὸς τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην καὶ
ποιητὴν διαλεγόμενος ἔφη· “Μνήσθητι, ὅτι
πηλὸν με ἐπλασας, εἰς δὲ γῆν με πάλιν
ἀποστρέφειν. Ἡ οὐχ ὥσπερ γάλα με ἡμελξας,
ἐπηξας δέ με ἴσα τυρῶ· δέρμα καὶ κρέας
ἐνέδυσάς με· ὀστέοις δὲ καὶ νεύροις ἐνείρας
με· ζῶν δὲ καὶ ἔλεον ἔθου παρ’ ἐμοί· ἡ δὲ
ἐπισκοπὴ σου ἐφύλλατέ μου τὸ πνεῦμα.”
Διὰ δὲ τούτων ἔδειξε μὲν τὴν γαμικὴν
ὀμιλίαν, ἔδειξε δὲ τῆς παιδοποιΐας τὰς
ἀφορμὰς καὶ τὸν σμικρὸν ἐκείνον θορὸν εἰς
μυρίας ἰδέας μεταμορφουμένην καὶ τηνικαῦτα
τὴν ψυχὴν δημιουργουμένην τε καὶ
ξυναπτομένην τῷ σώματι, καὶ μέντοι καὶ μετὰ
τὰς ὠδῖνας τὴν θεῖαν ἐπικουρίαν
φρουροῦσαν καὶ κυβερνῶσαν

This is what the noble Job said in the famous contest, speaking to the judge and creator: “Remember that you shaped me from clay and that you will return me again to the earth. And did you not pour me out like milk, and curdle me like cheese? You have clothed me with skin and flesh, you have knit me together with bones and nerves. You gave me life and mercy; your care has preserved my spirit.” Through these words he showed marital intercourse, and he also showed the origins of begetting children, and how the small amount of semen is transformed into a thousand different forms, and then the fashioning of the soul and its attachment to the body, and, of course, after the pains of labor, the protection and governing of divine succor.

The bestowal of life, for Theodoret, is the process of ensoulment, since life and the soul are thought of as very closely related terms. Relying on the Greek instead of the Hebrew text, Theodoret is able to understand a

Birth: Additional Thought on Exodus 21:22-25,” *Westminster Theological Journal* 41: 108-23.

⁴⁰ *Curatio*, 5:53-55.

linear chronology described in the text, rather than a sort of chronological repetition which one might understand from the Hebrew text's poetic parallelism.

The concept of "curdling" which appears in the Job text and is understood by Theodoret to be part of the physical development of the embryo, is one which has parallels in the writing of Aristotle. He held that fetal nourishment in the womb was essentially the same as provided by mother's milk and that the semen acted to coagulate this substance into the various parts of the body. In his *On the Generation of Animals* he says the following:⁴¹

“Ὅταν δὲ συστήῃ ἡ ἐν ταῖς ὑστέραις ἀπόκρισις
τοῦ θήλεος ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ ἄρρενος γονῆς,
παραπλήσιον ποιούσης ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ
γάλακτος τῆς πυετίας· καὶ γὰρ ἡ πυετία γάλα
ἐστὶ θερμοτότητα ζωτικὴν ἔχον, ἥ τὸ ὅμοιον εἰς
ἐν ἄγει καὶ συνίστησι, καὶ ἡ γονὴ πρὸς τὴν τῶν
καταμνηνίων φύσιν τοῦτο πέπονθεν· ἡ γὰρ αὐτὴ
φύσις ἐστὶ γάλακτος καὶ καταμνηνίων.

When the material secreted by the female in the uterus has been fixed by the semen of the male (this acts in the same way as rennet acts upon milk, for rennet is a kind of milk containing vital heat, which brings into one mass and fixes the similar material, and the relation of the semen to the menstrual flow is the same, milk and the menstrual flow being of the same nature).

Psalms 119:73

Finally, from Psalm 119, Theodoret cites yet another example of what would be poetic parallelism in the Hebrew text, but what is, for him, a chronology of soul-body relationship. Theodoret writes:⁴²

Βοᾷ δὲ καὶ ὁ θεσπέσιος Δαυίδ· “Αἱ χεῖρες σου
ἐποίησάν με καὶ ἔπλασάν με· συνέτισόν με,
καὶ μαθήσομαι τὰς ἐντολάς σου.” Καὶ κατὰ
ταῦτόν καὶ τῆς ποιήσεως ἀναμνησθεὶς τὸν
ποιητὴν καὶ τυχεῖν παρ’ αὐτοῦ συνέσεως
ἱκετεύει.

⁴¹ Aristotle, *De generatione animalium*, 739B.

⁴² *Curatio* 5:55.

The inspired David also proclaims: "Your hands made me and fashioned me; make me to understand, and I will learn your commandments." And, in the same way, he also reminds the creator of the process of creation, and he sought to obtain from him understanding.

Theodoret understands the first part of the verse to refer to the physical aspects of the body's formation and the second to be a reference to the soul, whose operations include understanding and will.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

As mentioned above there are points of connection with Christian controversies in Theodoret's discussion of the creation of body and soul. The most obvious is that Theodoret wishes to refute anyone, such as Origen, who believed that the human soul existed on its own before the time of the body's construction. While he acknowledges that God's will and plan for the soul exist from the beginning, Theodoret believes that God continues to create and that Genesis 2:2-3 is not meant to say that God enjoys an eternal Sabbath from creating.

Another connection to Christian debate relates to the question of free will, which Theodoret was much interested in maintaining as an essential quality of the human individual and his/her rational soul. For Theodoret and others of the Antiochene School, such as Theodore of Mopsuestia, the idea of original sin was one which threatened the autonomy of an individual's free will. They believed that such transmitted guilt and responsibility for the sin of Adam would amount to a sort of compulsion to sin which would then overwhelm the freedom of the will and which would take most of the personal responsibility away from the individual. By his belief in a delayed creationism, Theodoret removed any material or spiritual connection between the souls of the parents and the soul of the child. This, in combination with the assertion that morality is a problem for the soul and not for the body, would eliminate any possible connection with original sin passed from generation to generation. So, it can be seen that in his doctrine of delayed creationism, Theodoret is affirming his interpretation of Romans 5:12ff, in that we are not responsible for the sins of our ancestors, and his doctrine concerning baptism, which he believed was not for the remission of original sin. In this way Theodoret again preserves the faculty of free will in human nature.

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religious, urgency about these questions. The five sections of this book cover biblical witness, theological challenges, ecofeminist insights, indigenous cultures, and ethical implications.

Contributors include renowned scholars (such as Rosemary Radford Ruether, and Leonard Boff) and ecumenical leaders (the Orthodox essay is written by Fr. Milton Efthimiou, Director of the Department of Church and Society, and Ecumenical Officer of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese in the U.S.A.). It is pleasing to read a sincere and articulate Orthodox contribution.

Among the most stimulating chapters, for me, were the chapters of the final section on social ecology (L. Boff), sustainable development (D. Hallman), and population (C. Keller).

It becomes clear, in a work such as this, that Christian Churches cannot face issues of the environment in isolation, but they must address the theological and ethical dimensions in cooperation.

Dieter T. Hessel (ed.), *Theology for Earth Community*. Maryknoll NY: Orbis Books, 1996, 292 pages.

Prominent scholars across the fields of theological education contribute essays to this volume in response to the environmental challenge. Biblical studies, Systematic Theology, Social Ethics, Practical Theology, Spiritual Formation, and Liturgy are brought to bear upon eco-justice thought and action. Writers include Mary Evelyn Tucker, George Tinker, Manning Marable, Kosuke Koyama, Catherine Keller, Diane Jacobson, Thomas Hoyt, and Theodore Hiebert.

The editor of these chapters/essays is director of the ecumenical Program on Ecology, Justice and Faith at Princeton. He has clearly succeeded in relating an inter-disciplinary approach and providing a comprehensive theological "field guide", but the endeavor is less ecumenical than it might have been. The same holds true for the extensive bibliography (pp. 269-292), although there is reference to Mar Paulos Gregorios. One reason for this may be that these essays evolved from papers delivered at a conference at Union and Auburn Theological Seminaries in New York.

The contributions deal with practical matters, such as population, consumption, and justice; teaching models and spirituality. And there is an interesting paper (by Eilon Schwartz) on "Jewish theology and the environmental crisis" (pp. 53-63).

This is an important book for theological educators, institutional leaders, and individual Christians.

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distinguish their positions from modernity and other forms of postmodernity.

Finally, in chapter eleven Tilley sets up the problem of religious diversity as a "test case" (p. viii) by which to judge the adequacy of these postmodern theologies. Those deemed adequate (Lindbeck, Tracy, Gutierrez, Welch and McClendon) are consistent with their postmodern agenda in refusing "to deny the otherness of the 'other'" (p. 167).

Noticeably, though not surprisingly, absent is attention to Eastern Orthodox thinkers such as Christos Yannaras and his use of apophaticism against the totalizing tendencies of modern thought. Tilley's criticisms are also a bit uneven and sometimes off the mark. As an example, following George Lindbeck's label of Tracy as an "experiential-expressivist", Tilley accuses Tracy of "universalizing" tendencies (p. 37). This criticism overlooks Tracy's response to Lindbeck where he critiques the "experiential-expressivist" label as "fatally flawed"; reminds Lindbeck of the "hermeneutical turn" in his thought beyond his "hermeneutically informed but underdeveloped position on 'common' human 'experience'" in *Blessed Rage for Order*;² and argues that Lindbeck's "cultural-linguistic" model is inadequate to the "larger theological task" which must include fundamental theology [*The Thomist* 49 (1985) 460-72]. Tilley also misses the point of *Plurality and Ambiguity* as an attempt to affirm both the reality of "otherness" (postmodernity) without sacrificing the search for truth (modernity). Tracy rejects both relativism and universalism in seeking a theological model, which is neither strictly postmodern nor modern in its hope of uniting the One and the Many.

Though not groundbreaking, this book offers a clarifying and suggestive introduction into the varieties of postmodern theologies. Tilley should also be highly commended for incorporating and crediting the work of his graduate students beyond a simple footnote. More than an introduction into postmodern theologies, this book provokes a rethinking of the teacher-student relationship by offering a pedagogical model which can be mutually beneficial.

Aristotle Papanikolaou

Arthur Versluis, *Theosophia: Hidden Dimensions of Christianity* New York: Lindisfarne Press, 1994, pp. 223.

A particular question arises in our time when we consider the issues of God's relationship with creation and the sacredness of the world. I refer

here to the concept of the wisdom of God, particularly as it—or rather as *she* (because ‘hokh’ ma” in Hebrew and “sophia” in Greek are feminine terms)—is personified in the wisdom literature of the Bible. Indeed, even the characteristics of “sophia” have been clearly personified as feminine from as early as biblical times, and it has today become popular to view “sophia” as the “divine feminine” *par excellence*. This has been the understanding not only of a number of contemporary theologians, especially feminist writers, but also of certain Orthodox thinkers, most notably the Russian theologian Fr. Sergius Bulgakov (1871-1944).

The first salient point made in this book is that the concept of “sophia” is not an obscure esoteric doctrine related to gnosticism or theosophy (see the preface). *Theosophia* traces a long-hidden esoteric stream of Christianity. Clearly distinguishing his work from the Theosophical Society of Blavatsky, Versluis proceeds to focus his attention on the Western (Catholic) mysticism of Meister Eckhart and John Ruusbroec (ch. 2), on the Eastern (Orthodox) tradition of Dionysius (ch. 12) and the *Philokalia* (ch. 9), and on the philosophical lineage of Jacob Bohme (ch. 4). In this way the author seeks at once to discern the inner gnostic dimension of the Christian tradition across confessional and cultural borders, as well as to discover the inner wisdom (*sophia*) and reason (*logos*) of humanity and the world. These significant dimensions of our spiritual heritage speak directly to our current ecological and religious crises.

Theosophy is therefore understood as the unity of heaven and earth, profoundly and uniquely held together in the divine-human person of the eternal Word who lovingly assumed creation. Versluis writes with poetic and prophetic conviction:

Our ground and God’s ground are one, because ultimately it is God himself who is seeking to be known in us through our becoming aware of him (p. 140).

The vision of “sophia” and of her beauty is the vision of a transfigured world beyond the damage or distortion of the temporal world. It is an eternal beauty that both transcends the sphere of this world and yet is also discerned within this world:

The kiss of Sophia is divine revelation, illumination within, and the experience of paradisaal joy in this life” (p. 154).

This offers us a valid alternative to the dichotomies with which we are often confronted between either God or the world. The theory of “sophia” enables us to avoid the sharp line of demarcation or dichotomy between heaven and earth. For “sophia” is not simply the transcendence of God *in*

contrast to the world; it is the immanence of God *in relation to* the world. Versluis concludes his book with an emphasis on the spiritual nature of the body and on the celestial nature of the earth (pp. 185-93).

"Sophia" is the divinity of God and the createdness of creation. It is, however, more than this: Sophia reveals the "human" aspect of God and the "divine" aspect of creation. "Sophia" preserves both the luminosity and numinosity of God and creation alike. In this way, sophiology represents much more than an aesthetical or mystical experience of the world's beauty; it reveals the world as place of encounter with the personal God.

Versluis is aware that there is a need for "a life turned toward spiritual practice, and this turning is the process of *metanoia* that lasts beyond a lifetime spent in this unquiet world" (p. 145). Through such a conversion, "the eye of the heart opens to reveal the archetypal or spiritual world, which is alive with the 'outflowing breath' of God" (p. 170).

What is unveiled is a "visionary imagination" (ch. 11), an "apocalypse of the heart" (ch. 8), that reveals the spiritual dimensions of angelophany (ch. 1) or hierophany (ch. 6) in ourselves and in our world.

While this is not easy reading, it has been a while since I have enjoyed reading through a book like *Theosophia*. It is a book that skillfully guides us through our common spiritual heritage, reminding us that it holds the answers to many of the problems we have caused.

John Chryssavgis

Theodore S. Nikolaou. *Ἡ σημασία τῆς εἰκόνας στό μυστήριο τῆς οἰκονομίας* (*The Meaning of the Icon in the Mystery of Salvation*). Trans. from German into Greek by Constantine Nikolakopoulos Thessaloniki: Pournaras, 1992, pp. 186.

Readers familiar with the work of Professor Theodore Nikolaou, founder and director of the Institute of Orthodox Theology at the University of Munich, and editor of its official publication *Orthodoxes Forum*:. *Zeitschrift des Instituts für Orthodoxe Theologie der Universität München*, now in its eighth year of publication, will welcome this collection of five studies on the history and theology of the icon. Originally written in German and published in a variety of academic journals between 1979 and 1991, the studies are here made available in Greek and accompanied by a useful eleven-page bibliography. Professor Nikolaou, who has resided in Ger-

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Rosemary Radford Ruether (ed.), *Women Healing Earth*. Maryknoll NY: Orbis Books, 1996, 186 pages.

The name of Rosemary Radford Ruether has long been associated with pioneering theology in feminist and eco-feminist circles. This time, however, she is conveying the voices of third world women on ecology, feminism, and religion. In addressing the intertwining issues of ecology and economy, of class and race, of religion and liberation, this book offers profound insights from women involved in the struggles to overcome violence against women and nature, and to ensure ecological preservation and social justice. These questions are rooted in life and death matters, not in theory or statistics: impoverishment of the earth means poverty for people; pollution means children dying of dehydration; deforestation means walking further to gather wood. This theology of life is told in stories from Brazil, El Salvador, India, Philippines, and South Africa.

Here is a serious attempt at cross-cultural communication, as writers express their concern against oppression and their struggle for liberation. And religion is explored as the reinforcement of such domination, and as a resource for healing.

It is easy to dismiss ecological issues and to persist in our cozy lifestyles when the rape of nature is not closely connected to the rape of people, when the global crisis has no human face. Environmental issues assume another urgency when we know that over a billion people starve and die early from poisoned water, soil, and air. The contributors to this volume offer us different "images" of the world and present us with other dimensions of "identity" in relation to nature.

This book is a rude reminder and a crude awakening to renewed responsibility to one another and to the world around us.

So that God's Creation Might Live: The Orthodox Church Responds to the Ecological Crisis. N.p.: Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, 1992, 118 pages.

In November of 1991, the Ecumenical Patriarchate organized an "Inter-Orthodox Conference on Environmental Protection", held at the Orthodox Academy of Crete and drawing together delegates from the autocephalous and autonomous Orthodox Churches throughout the world, theologians from Orthodox faculties, clergy and monastics, Orthodox and other international bodies as well as observers from the Oriental Orthodox Churches, the Vatican, the Conference of European Churches and the World Baptist

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